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GREEK AUTHORS AND SUBJECT MATTERS IN THE *LETTERS* OF GRIGOR MAGISTROS

by

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Grigor Magistros Pahlavuni (*ca* 990-1058), a scion of a princely family, was an eminent political and military figure of his time. Together with his uncle the *sparapet* Vahram Pahlavuni, Grigor took part in military campaigns on behalf of the Bagratid kings of Ani. After the last Bagratid king, Gagik, was detained in Constantinople and dethroned in 1045 by the emperor Constantine IX, Grigor surrendered his lands to the Empire, receiving in exchange lands in southern Armenia and Mesopotamia. He was awarded the title *magistros* and appointed duke of Edessa in 1048. Military forces under Grigor's command defeated the Tondrakian sect (1051-1054). After becoming an imperial official, Grigor continued to play a significant role in the social and cultural life of Armenia: he built churches and monasteries and founded a school. [1]

Grigor Magistros was also a prolific author[2]. His writings include the poem Տաղասացութիւն which is a summation of the Bible (completed by a concise history of the Armenian Church) in 1080 epic verses, composed

[1] On Grigor Magistros, see recently MAT'EWOSYAN 2010. On the practice of "bequeathing" Armenian princedoms to the Empire, see BARTIKIAN 2002.

[2] Our new edition of the corpus of Grigor's writings (see GRIGOR MAGISTROS 2012; further G. M. and page number) includes his collection called *Թուղթք եւ չափաբերականք* (*Letters and Verses*) (pp. 139-384), the poem "On Saint John the Forerunner" from *Ganjaran*s (p. 385) and the *Commentary on Grammar* (pp. 386-484; this is a reproduction of the text in ADONC 1915, pp. 221-249, with the insertion in proper places of the passages from the four previous commentators cited by Magistros, which Adonts excerted from his text and published separately, under the names of Davit', Anonym, Movsēs K'erdoł and Step'anos Siwnec'i). *Թուղթք եւ չափաբերականք* consist of the poem Տաղասացութիւն (1), six short poems (2, 3[9], 6 [87], 39a [86], 39b [85], 78 [83]; 6 is rather written in rythmic prose and 44 [59] contains poetic passages) and 81 letters. The items are arranged according to their order in manuscripts, while K. Kostaneanc' in his edition (GRIGOR MAGISTROS 1910) arranged them in groups by the names of the addressees. Thus, my edition has a different numbering, but the new numbers are followed by the old ones in brackets (numbers 1 and 2 are absent from Kostaneanc''s edition).

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for the learned vizier Abu Nasr al-Manazi[3], several shorter poems, the *Letters*, and a *Commentary on Grammar*. The *Commentary* occupies a pivotal position among Armenian commentaries on Dionysius Thrax's *Ars grammatica*: while drawing and expanding on earlier commentaries by Davit', the Anonymous commentator, Movsēs, and Step'anos Siwnec'i,[4] it had a strong impact on later commentators, such as Yovhannēs Erznakac'i (1230-1298), Vardan Arewelc'i (13th c.), Esayi Nč'ec'i (14th c.), Yovhannēs Corcorec'i (1283-1340), and Arak'el Siwnec'i (15th c.). Grigor mentions, moreover, his translation from Greek of Plato's *Timaeus* and *Phaedo*, and of Euclid's *Geometry* (letter 21). Only a short passage of *Geometry* translated by Grigor is preserved,[5] while the extant Armenian versions of *Timaeus*, *Euthyphro*, *Laws*, *Minos*, an *Apology of Socrates* (no *Phaedo*) are nowadays dated earlier and attributed to the third group of translations of the Hellenizing School.[6]

An important part of Grigor's literary legacy is a collection of eighty one private letters; besides some poems figure among these letters.[7] Private letters represent an altogether new genre in Armenian literature (the *Book of Letters* compiled in the 8th century was a collection of official missives). Grigor's letters fall into three main categories: dogmatic, philosophical, family.[8] Many letters concern political events, scholarly and educational matters, medical problems, some discuss Grigor's complicated relations with king Gagik II. Grigor's wide circle of correspondents included such well-known figures as the catholicos Petros Getadarj (1019-1059) and other outstanding clerics, but also private people and friends, known only from the letters.[9] Several letters mention gifts sent to

[3] Grigor Magistros 1868 (1018 verses); Magnalia Dei 2012 (1033 verses); Grigor Magistros 2012, pp. 139-186 (1080 verses). The numbers of verses in the two new editions are not the same (there are other textual differences too) because of different approaches to the manuscript tradition. In various works the poem is also referred to as Հազարաւոր եաւն (*Consisting of Thousand Verses*). In his poems, Grigor Magistros widely used rhyme, influenced by Arabic poetry (the first attempts to write rhymed verses belong to Grigor Narekac'i, 10th c.).

[4] Adonc 1915, p. XC.

[5] See in Petrosyan 1959, pp. 106-114. An unrelated but complete translation was edited by Petrosyan & Abrahamyan 1962, pp. ԺՉ-ԺԽ (16-17).

[6] See Arevšatyan 1971; Arevšatyan 1973[1], pp. 28-227. Leroy (1935, p. 278) argued for attributing the translation of *Timaeus* and probably of the other texts as well to Grigor Magistros.

[7] A letter attributed to Yovhannēs Sarkawag (Abrahamyan 1956) was reattributed to Grigor, see Arevšatyan 1973[2].

[8] Langlois 1869, p. 19; Leroy 1935, p. 278.

[9] See the survey of Grigor's correspondents by Kostaneanc' in Grigor Magistros 1910, pp. 281-312.

or by Grigor's correspondents: Catholicos Petros requests the writings of St. Ephrem on faith (letter 7[1]); Grigor sends books by Anania Širakac'i (letter 21[2]) or receives books (letter 25[5]); he promises to send a cauldron (letter 81[35]) or asks to borrow the commentary on Jeremiah by a certain Asołik, identified by Kostaneanc' as Grigor's contemporary, the historian Step'anos Taronec'i Asołik[10] (letter 66[55]); see also letter 12 (58) on receiving pomegranates, letter 16(74) on receiving a red trout, letter 16(75) with a request to send a tree [sic!] for the table, letter 34(79) on the unkept promise to send a cauldron. Sending or receiving gifts (among them fish, pomegranates, books) is a major topic in the correspondence of many Byzantine authors of that time.[11]

Grigor Magistros was one of the most learned medieval Armenian writers. His great grandson Nersēs Šnorhali (12th c.) praised him in verses: "Prosodizing like Homer, / Orating like Plato, / Skilled in Greek wisdom, / Versed in general knowledge."[12] The historian Aristakēs Lastivertc'i, a contemporary, called him "a sagacious man, so learned in theology that he was without equal."[13] The historian Matt'ēos Urhayec'i (Matthew of Edessa) (12th c.) wrote: "Grigor Pahlawuni, son of Vasak, filled with invincible grace, was amazing in all his answers against the Romans; a well-instructed man, following all kinds of knowledge and totally comprehending the Old and New Testaments of God, he sat on the chair with philosophers inside Saint Sophia and spoke with Roman sages. He belonged to the sages of the Armenian nation."[14]

Modern scholars view Grigor as an outstanding man of erudition,[15] the first secular Armenian writer.[16] M. Leroy called him "encyclopédiste."[17]

[10] Grigor Magistros 1910, p. 307.

[11] See Karpozelos 1984.

[12] *Ըստ Հոմերի տաղաչափեալ, / Ըստ Պղատոնի պերճաբանեալ, / Յունականին ներհուն եղեալ, / Յոգնիմաստիցն ծակացեալ*, see Nersēs Šnorhali 1981, p. 109.

[13] *Գրիգոր որդի քաջին Վասակայ... այր իմաստուն էր եւ խելամուտ յոյժ աստուածային գրոց որպէս ոչ այլ ոք*, see Aristakēs Lastivertc'i 1963, p. 118.11-13.

[14] *Գրիգոր Պահլաւունին, որդին Վասակայ էր անպարտելի չնորհաւք լցեալ եւ զարմանալի էր սա յամենայնի պատասխանիսն ընդդէմ Հռոմոց, այր քաջակիրթ եւ ամենայն հմտութեանց հետեւեալ եւ բովանդակ հասեալ սորա ի վերայ հին եւ նոր կտակարանացն Աստուծոյ եւ յամբիոնն նստէր ընդ իմաստասէրսն ի մէջ սրբոյն Սոփիայ եւ խաւսէր ընդ վարդապետացն Հռոմոց, եւ ի կարգի վարդապետացն էր սա ազգիս Հայոց*, see Matt'ēos Urhayec'i 1898, p. 183.

[15] See Kostaneanc' in Grigor Magistros 1910, pp. ԼԵ-ԼԶ (35-36); Xač'erean 1987, pp. 43-61.

[16] Xač'erean 1987, p. 259; cf., on pp. 331-332, complementary opinions of previous scholars.

[17] Leroy 1935, p. 275.

Some Armenologists believe that Grigor may have studied not only in Ani, the Bagratid capital, but also in Constantinople.[18] This perception has much to do with the intricacy of Grigor's language and style.[19] His letters in particular are often difficult to understand, because they are full of allegories, allusions, citations from and renarrations of known and unknown sources. Later scribes aggravated the obscurity of many passages by corrupting unusual words, foreign names, and contexts they failed to understand. The first edition of the full collection of letters by K. Kostaneanc', based on three fairly late Ējmiacin manuscripts (n° 92, now M98, from 1696; n° 1880, now M1741, from 1651; n° 58, now M3062, from 1765-67), did little to repare the damage. As the editor admitted, for any comprehensive study of Grigor's sources and of foreign names he cites the corrupt text needs to be "restored."[20] Our edition is based on the collation of Ms M1741 (not all of its readings are acurately reflected in Kostaneanc''s edition) with M4232 (17th c.) and M3293 (18th c.)[21], which made it possible to correct words, proper names, revise the division of the text into sentences and paragraphs made by Kostaneanc', considerably changing the punctuation.

Literary parallels and allusions in Grigor's letters often go beyond the Armenian literary tradition. Thus B. Č'ugaszyan has brought to light some echoes of Iranian epos in the letters: Magistros narrates long stories very briefly, but some details are not found in Firdowsi's *Shāh-nāmeh* and must derive from oral epic tradition.[22] References to Greek authors — quotations, paraphrases of classical mythical and literary episodes, or mere allusions — are more numerous and significant. In some cases these references come to enhance his argument, but often they seem to be a mere display of erudition. Similarly, Byzantine literature of Grigor's time

[18] Xač'erean 1987, p. 46.

[19] Two of his enigmatic poems were "deciphered" word by word: Biwzandac'i 1900; Mēnēvišean 1912 (the author points to the stylistic influence of Aristophanes' *Birds* and *Frogs* on this poem, pp. 11-12); Ačarean 1923.

[20] See Grigor Magistros 1910, p. 291. According to G. Mēnēvišean (Mēnēvišean 1912, p. 19), this edition needs revision and correction of words, names, even whole passages.

[21] For the text of the poem Տաղասացութիւն I collated three old eiditions (Grigor Magistros 1746, Grigor Magistros 1825, Grigor Magistros 1868) and Mss M1741, M4232, M98, M6045 (17th c.).

[22] Č'ugaszyan 1958. Č'ugaszyan contests the assertion of Kostaneanc' (Grigor Magistros 1910, p. 307), that Grigor owed his information about Rostom Sačik to Movsēs Xorenac'i; in reality he often used local variants of oral traditions. According to Russell, Grigor either read "Shah-Nameh" in Persian or heard passages from it, see Russell 2004.

is characterized by the growing interest for classical *paideia*, which reached its apogee in the eminent literary figure of Michael Psellus.[23]

The aim of the present study is to contribute to the identification of Grigor's classical references. It does not aspire to exhaust the subject or to resolve all obscure allusions. By merely bringing the unresolved issues to light it might, however, promote their solution.

I. Indirect references to classical texts

Grigor's knowledge of classical authors and subject matters is not always direct; in some cases it derives from older Armenian translations of Greek texts. Several cases of such indirect borrowings are discussed in the first part of this study.

I.1. Borrowings from David the Invincible's *Prolegomena* and *Definitions of Philosophy*[24]

I.1.a. David refers to the episode from Homer's *Odyssey* (11.308-316), in which the giants Otus and Ephialtes, in order to reach the sky, put mount Ossa upon Olympus, and Pelion upon Ossa: *Արդ այսպէս որք յամենեւիմբ նիւթականացն յամենեւիմբ աննիւթականս ձգաչէլ, զորս առակելով քերթուիթիւնն վասն Ոտոսի եւ Եփիալտոսի, որք զՈսայ զլեառն ի վերայ Ողիմպիոսի յաւժարեցան դնել եւ ի վերայ զՈսայ զտերեւաչարժն զՊիլոն, որպէս զի երկին ճեմարան եղիցի* (Dav. *Prol*.Arm. 124.10-14 = Dav. *Prol*. 59.3-7) — "The same thing would happen if a man were to pass from the entirely material to the entirely non-material. Such are allegorized in the poem on Otus and Ephialtes those who wished to pile Mount Ossa on the top of Mount Olympus and then the wooded Pelion on top of this in order to scale the sky" (Dav. *Prol*.Eng. 125).

Grigor[25] retold this passage twice; the names are corrupted: 1) *տրամախոհի ի վերայ Ողոմպիոսի դնել զՍեստոս եւ յայնր յարաբարձել*

[23] See Kaldellis 2008, p. 180: "By the tenth century, Byzantium had again invested its resources into creating a highly sophisticated if unsystematic forum for classical education. The state sponsored faculties of higher education in the capital which drew students from all the provinces, and maintained libraries and archives." See also the chapter on Michael Psellus and his project of philosophical revival (pp. 191-224).

[24] Dawit' Anyałt' 1960 (further Dav. *Prol*.Arm.). The English translation is cited from: David the Invincible Philosopher 1983 (further Dav. *Prol*.Eng.). The Greek original, *Prolegomena Philosophiae*, in: David 1904 (further Dav. *Prol*.).

[25] This parallel was noticed already by Kostaneanc' in Grigor Magistros 1910, pp. 288-289.

զաերեւաչարժն Բիղոն, որպէս զի երկին ճեմարան լիցի նոցա (G. M. 271) — "it is reasoned to pile *Sestos* (Ossa) on the top of Mount Olympus and then the wooded Pelion on top of this in order to scale the sky"; 2) *առակելով քերդութիւնն վասն Ստոսի* (*v.l. Խատոսի*) *եւ Եփիալտոսի եւ զՈսայ ի վերայ Ողոմպիոսի յաւժարեցան դնել, եւ ի վերայ սորա զաերեւաչարժն Բիւղոն, որպէս զի երկին ճեմարան եղիցի* (G. M. 348) — "allegorized in the poem on *Stos* / *Istos* (Otus) and Ephialtes those who wished to pile Mount Ossa on the top of Mount Olympus and then the wooded Pelion on top of this in order to scale the sky".

I.1.b. David wrote about Plato: 1) *Պղատոն… ի վերայ իւրոյ համալսարանին մակագրեաց. "Աներկրաչափն մի ներքամտեսցէ"* (Dav. *Prol.* arm. 14.4-7 = Dav. *Prol.* 5.12-13) — "Plato... wrote above the entrance to his academy: 'He who is not a geometrician shall not enter'" (Dav. *Prol.*Eng. 15); 2) *Պղատոն... առաջի իւրում համալսարանին մակագրեաց՝ "Աներկրաչափ ոք մի ներքամտեսցէ"* (Dav. *Prol.*arm. 120.18-19 = Dav. *Prol.* 57.19-20) — "Plato... inscribed in front of his academy: 'He who is not a geometrician may not enter'" (Dav. *Prol.*Eng. 121).

Grigor used this information in three places: 1) *Պղատոն իսկ զգուշացուցանէ այսպէս յիւրումն աստուածաբանութեանն. "Աներկրաչափական ոք մի՝ ներամտեսցէ"* (G. M. 271) — "Plato warns in his theology in the following way: 'He who is not a geometrician may not enter'"; 2) *Թէպէտեւ բողոքէ մեզ հրաշալին Պղատոն մեծաւ զգուշութեամբ ոչ յաստուածաբանականն ամբառնալ. որ եւ ոչ է, եթէ յառաստութիւնն արգելու միայն, այլ եւ ոչ ի լսարանն մուծանել կամի, զի մեծի լսողութեան ունել պէտս հաւանի հրաշալին այն: Վասն որոյ ասէ. "Աներկրաչափական ոք մի՝ ներամտեսցէ"* (G. M. 365) — "Although wonderful Plato protests with great warning against our ascending to theology, which means not only that he keeps us from being called so, but also that he does not want to let us into the classroom, since that wonderful man considers that we need great obedience. That is why he says: 'He who is not a geometrician may not enter'"; 3) *եւ ոչ պատկառեցուցանէ զքեզ Պղատոն յասելն իւրումն. "Աներկրաչափ ոք մի՝ ներամտեսցէ"* (G. M. 348) — "Plato does not put you to shame when saying: 'He who is not a geometrician may not enter'".

I.1.c. David wrote about the Pythagorean woman Theano: *որպէս արար պիթագորուհին Տիմիքտայ, որ կոչեցաւ Թէանովն: Քանզի նա անկեալ ի բուռն սիկիլացւոց բռնաւորին եւ հարցեալ, թէ ընդէ՞ր ոչ ուսեն պիթագորականքն՝ մեծ ոլոլունս, ասէր՝ կերայց քան թէ ասացից: Եւ յասել բռնաւորին, թէ կեր, ասէր՝ ասացից քան թէ կերայց: Եւ այնպէս ծամելով զլեզուն վախճանեցաւ* (Dav.*Prol.*Arm. 76.12-15) — "as did the Pythagorean

woman Timycha,[26] who was also called Theano. She fell into the hands of the tyrant of Sicily and when he asked her why the Pythagoreans did not eat beans she answered: 'I would rather eat them than tell you why.' And when the tyrant told her to eat them she aswered: 'I would rather tell you than eat them.' And thus she died having chewed up her tongue" (Dav. *Prol*.Eng. 78).

Grigor 1) hinted at this story: *լուիցես... զԹիմվնա, որ մեռանիլ յանձն առնոյր ի Սիկիլիացւոց բռնաւորէն սակս մեծ ոլոռանցն ոչ ուտելոյ եւ միւսոիւռիոնին*[27] *ոչ յայտ առնելոյ* (G. M. 323) — "you will hear about Theano who preferred to die at the hands of the tyrant of Sicily for not eating big beans and unraveling the mystery"; and 2) retold it: *աւանդեն դարձեալ ոչ յայտնելով զչար աղանդ իւրեանց իբրեւ զՊիւթագորասին, որ ոչ եթէ Թիմվնեան այն միայն զմեծ ոլոռունսն ոչ ճաշակէր, այլ եւ, զանճառագործութիւնսն ոչ կամելով ասել, առաջաքեզ զլեզուն հատեալ յառաջագոյն մեռանէր* (G. M. 197) — "Again they recount that not revealing their wicked sect as belonging to Pythagoras, Theano not merely did not eat big beans, but also not wishing to say the ineffable things, cutting her tongue with teeth she died beforehand."

I.1.d. Grigor borrows theoretical considerations from David's *Definitions*, which he also mentions in his educational programme: *նախ պարտ է զքերականութիւնն հանդերձ թարգմանութեամբն ուսանել տիրապէս մակաբացականութեամբ, եւ զկնի այսր զհռետորականն երիւք հանդիսիւք անսխալ տրհուիթեամբ, եւ ապա զԱշխմանացն պարունակել, եւ պղատոնական եւ արիստոտէլական, եւ դարձեալ պիւթագորական կարակնակերտութեանն բացորոշմանց եւ դատողութեանց, նախուստ քան զայսոսիկ կրթեցեալք ներկուռ վերծանութեամբ զՀին եւ զՆոր Կտակարանս,*

[26] In the Greek (Dav. *Prol*. 33.9-14) she is called merely Theano. But cf. Πυθαγορίδες δὲ γυναῖκες αἱ ἐπιφανέσταται Τιμύχα γυνὴ ἡ Μυλλία τοῦ Κροτωνιάτου... Θεανὼ γυνὴ τοῦ Μεταποντίνου Βροτίνου... (IAMBLICHUS 1975, 36.267.66). The Pythagorean Theano is also known as the author of an apophthegm in the rhetorical Progymnasmata of Theon of Alexandria (AELIUS THEON 1997 [further Theon], p. 98.3-7), also in its Armenian version (AELIUS THEON 1938 [further TheonArm.], p. 36), and as a title of the last *chreia* in the Armenian *Girk' pitoyic'* (1993, pp. 40, 41), the Greek original of which is the title of a *chreia* in the Progymnasmata of Nikolaos of Myra (NIKOLAOS 1832, p. 274). It tells about Theano who when asked, for how many days a woman must abstain from [intercourse with] man if she wants to enter a temple (Nikolaos and *Girk' pitoyic'*) / to take part in the Thesmophoria (Theon), answered that after her own [husband], she may go immediately, but after a stranger, never. This saying also occurs in the work of the seventh-century historian Sebeos (SEBĒOS 1971, p. 159), who probably borrowed it from the *Book of Chreiae* (*Girk' pitoyic'*1993).

[27] We propose the reading *միւսոիւռիոնին* (the Greek μυστήριον), instead of *միւս Տիւռոնին* — "of the other Tyrion" — in GRIGOR MAGISTROS 1910, p. 25.

եւ առաստպելավարժութիւնս ի բազում եւ զանազան տեղիս եղեալ՝ զոր քննութեամբ արտայայտել հաւանիմք, եւ ի խոյզ ելանել չերմագոյն եւ քաջողջական խոհականութեամբ եւ արամաբանական հատուածոց հոմեբական եւ պղատոնական նախասականին եւ այլոցն բոլոր արհեստից եւ մատենից (G. M. 240-241) — "First one has to study grammar together with interpretation, with properly speaking professional skill, and after that, rhetoric with its three genera and with correct division, then to embrace the *Definitions* [of David] and the Platonic and Aristotelian [teachings], also the Pythagorean [skill] of applying compasses, of determinations and judgements; but before these [subjects] having studied the Old and New Testaments with careful reading; we also like to manifest knowledge of myths that are in many and various places, which we agree to present with examination and to study with fervent and sound consideration both logical passages and Homeric and Platonic prophecies and all other arts and books."

The Aristotelian *tragelaphus*, *եղջերուաքաղ* (G. M. 311) "goat-stag," goes back to the same treatise (Dav. *Prol*.Arm. 2.22 = Dav. *Prol.* 1.17; 50.24; 108.17 = 46.37).

I.2. Borrowing from the *Book of Chreiae*

An exercise in the *Book of Chreiae* is called "Vituperation of Medea's Story" (IV.4; this part of Medea's myth provided the plot for Euripides' non-extant tragedy *Peliades*)[28]: *Բայց առաւել որ զՄեդեայս պատմէ, անդր եւ ծայրագեալ սաստկանայ ստաբանութեամբ: Զի զսէ ասէ ի Սկիւթական գաւառէն նաւել զՀետ Յասոնայ ուրումն եւ գալ ի Թեսալիա անդ ի գործ զկախարդականն արկանէր արուեստ: Եւ զթագաւորն, որ տիրէր գաւառին, դաւաճանութեամբ մտածէր կորուսանել, եւ զդստերսն Հաւանեցուցեալ յաղագս Հարն զառամութեան, զի ոչ ունի ասէ արու զարմ, որ զՀայրենեանն յաջորդեալ ժառանգիցէ իշխանութիւն, "արդ, եթէ կամիք, բայ, կարող եմ ես զնա ըստ Հասակի մանկագոյն եւ նորոգապէս ձեզ ցուցանել": Եւ զայս խաւսելով՝ անդէն եւ անդ պատմէ տարացուցիւ յայտնել նոցա զգործոյն Հանգամանս, եւ առեալ խոյ մի յաչեալ ամանայր ի սան, եւ զ'առ ի ներքոյն բորբոքէր Հուր եւ յեռանդանէն ի միջոյ սանին խլրտեալ զխոյն ցուցանէր իբր զկենդանի, եւ այնու պատրեալ՝ յաչէր զՊէլիաս, եւ "էր ի սանին" ասէ, եւ աւելի ինչ ոչ* — "But [Euripides] reaches the peak of lie especially in

[28] *Girk' pitoyic'* 1993, p. 68.20-29. In this half-translated rhetorical handbook, in contrast to the translated definitions of various types of exercises, more than the half of the sample-exercises consists of a paraphrase of the progymnasms of Aphthonius.

the story about Medea. For he says that she sailed following a certain Jason from the land of Scythia to Thessaly and there applied magical art. And she perfidiously planned to kill the king who was ruling in that land. She persuaded his daughters, pointing to his old age and to the fact that he had no sons to inherit the paternal power, saying: 'now, if you wish, I can show him to you young-aged and new'. And he tells that saying this she demonstrated them the circumstances of the affair by example: taking a ram she dismembered and put it in a caldron, she burned fire underneath and showed the ram quivering in the boiling cauldron as if being alive. Deceiving with this, she dismembered Pelias, and [Euripides] says: 'he was in the cauldron', and nothing else."

Grigor mentioned this story three times, considerably corrupting the names: 1) *Յիշեմ աստանաւր եւ զՊէլոպեան, յորմէ խոյն յաւչեալ խլրտանայր, իսկ Պէլասն արտահանեալ եւ ոչ եւս երեւէր*... (G. M. 372) — "Now I remember the Pelopid (?) by whom the ram was dismembered and quivered, while *Pelas* (Pelias) was killed and was seen no more"; 2) *Գիտեմ եւ զսանն որ պատրանաւք զՊելասն կորուսանէր, յորմէ խոյն խլրտացեալ արտաքս վազէր* (G. M. 304) — "I also know the cauldron in which she killed *Pelas* (Pelias) by deceit, from which the ram ran out quivering"; 3) *Բայց ուրումն Միդեայ հանդիպեալ քեզ եւ իբրեւ զխոյն ի սանէն խլրտացուցեալ եւ զաւրէն Պէլիասայ տարացուցիւն պատրեալ* (G. M. 309) — "But a certain Medea came across you and made you quiver like the ram and deceived you by example like Pelias."

A brief account on this story is found in Theon's progymnasmata: ἡ δὲ Μήδεια βάπτουσα τὰς ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς τῶν ἀνθρώπων πολιὰς καὶ μελαίνας ποιοῦσα ἐφημίσθη τοὺς γέροντας εἰς λέβητα κατακόπτουσα νέους ποιεῖν (Theon 96.11-13). In the Armenian version, Medea's name is corrupted: *Բեւդիա ներկանելով զալիսն ի գլուխս մարդկան եւ սեաւս առնելով՝ խաբեցաւ զալեւորսն ի սան կոտորելով մանկունս առնել* (TheonArm. 106) — "Colouring the grey hair on the heads of humans and making them black, Medea was alleged to make elders young by cutting them in pieces in a cauldron." Grigor's passages, however, are closer to the *Book of Chreiae*.[29]

[29] The same is true of a passage in the discourse by Yovhan Ojnec'I (8th c.): ... *զՊեդիայ զթեսաղացւոց գոռոզին ախտանալ, որ զզառամացեալն իւր Մեդիայ առղի առնէր առ ի յաւչել զմարմինն՝ որպէս թէ ի մեռելութենէ առ մանկութիւն զծերութիւնն փոփոխել յուսալով*… (Yovhan Ojnec'i 1953, p. 11) — "what was suffered by the Thessalian tyrant Pelias, whoes body, when he was in old age, Medea hurried to dismember, as if expecting that through death he would change his old age to youth."

I.3. Borrowings from the *Alexander Romance*

I.3.a. In the Armenian version of the *Alexander Romance* there is a citation from Homer's *Iliad* (1.528-530): *որպէս ասաց սքանչելի երգիչն այն Հոմերոս. "Եւ կապուտակային յանուաքն ակնարկեաց Զրուանեան, եւ սքանչելի աստուածային վարսքն չարժեցան անմահ գլխոյն թագաւորին, եւ մեծապէս չարժեալ տատանեցաւ Ողիմպոս"*[30] — "As the wonderful singer Homer said: 'the son of Cronus bowed his dark brows, and the wonderful divine locks swayed on the king's immortal head, and Olympus strongly reeled'."

Grigor retold this story four times[31]: 1) *զՀոմերոսին, որ... առ Արամազդ, որ զՈլոմպիոս գրէ չարժել ի խիզախել դիւցազանն եւ յակնարկել յաւնիցն: Զի այս է ծայրագոյն իմաստասիրացն գաւառ՝ զդիւցազինսն պատուասիրել մանաւանդ գովասանական ներբողենիւք* (G. M. 315) — "Homer's [story] about Aramazd (i.e. Zeus), who writes that Olympus moved from the boldness of the hero and from bowing his brows; for this is peculiar to the highest class of philosophers, especially honoring the heroes' deeds with praising encomia"; 2) *այսինքն չարժեալ զվարսն իբրու երբեմն Կռաւնոս յակնարկելն զՈղոմպիոս* (G. M. 304) — "that is swaying the locks, as once Cronus did bowing his brows on account of Olympus"; 3) *յԱրամազդայ ակնարկութենէն ասէ զՈղոմպոս տատանեալ եւ զնա երկնի որդի, որպէս զԿռոնաւս Հայր իւր* (G. M. 222) — "Of Aramazd's (Zeus') bowing, he says, Olympus reeled; [Homer] calls him the son of Uranus, like his father Cronus"; 4) *ասել քեզ իբրու զԴիայն Արամազդն այն, յորմէ եւ Որմիզդն սերեալ, քանզի ի սմա ասէ Հերմէս ակնարկութեամբ տատանել զՂոմպոս* (G. M. 293) — "telling you about Zeus Aramazd, from whom originated Ormizd, for Hermes (corrupted form of Homer) says that Olympus reeled from him bowing his brows."

Grigor correctly understood that *Zruanean* of his source is Zeus, son of Cronus,[32] while the indication that Homer "calls him [Zeus] the son of Uranus, like his father Cronus" seems to be a result of corruption. Also seems to be mistaken the statement that Ormizd originated from Zeus Aramazd, since "Ormizd" was a variant of "Aramazd," both deriving from the Iranian Ahuramazda, and both used in translations to designate Zeus.[33] In the last passage "Homer" was corrupted into "Hermes."

[30] *Historia Alexandri Magni* 1989, rec. A (further Alex.Arm.), p. 136 = *Historia Alexandri Magni* 1926 (further Alex.), 1.33.13.

[31] This parallel was noticed by Kostaneanc' (Grigor Magistros 1910, p. 290); and Y. Tašean, 1892, pp. 28-30. Tašean also pointed to other parallels between the two texts (*ibid*., pp. 30-32).

[32] See Muradyan 1994-1995, p. 67.

[33] Muradyan 1994-1995, p. 66.

I.3.b. Also in the *Alexander Romance*, Alexander felt that he had drunk poisoned wine, and asked for a feather: *Իսկ Աղէքսանդրի դարձուցեալ կամեցեալ զկարի չաա փղձկեալ, խնդրեաց թեւ, քանզի սովոր էր այսպէս առնել: Եւ չար Ուղղոսն, չաղախեալ դեղովն՝ նատոյց նմա, վասն որոյ եւս առաւել կարի յաղթեաց դեղն անապականագոյն ընդ մարմին խառնեալ եւ բախեալ* (Alex.Arm. A 336-337) = ὁ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος ἀπερᾶσαι βουλόμενος τὸ πολὺ τοῦ οἴνου ᾔτησε πτερόν· εἴθιστο γὰρ οὕτως ἐμεῖν. ὁ δὲ Ἰόλλας περιχρίσας τῷ φαρμάκῳ ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ· διὸ πολὺ ἐνήργει τὸ φάρμακον, ἀκρατέστερον εἰς τὸ σῶμα προσενεχθέν (Alex. α 3.32.1.2-2.2) — "And Alexander wanting very much (Gr. much of the wine) to disgorge, asked for a wing,[34] since he was used to vomit so. And malicious (absent in Gr.) *Ullos* (Iollas) smearing with poison gave it to him. That is why the poison took strong effect, being mixed with and attacking (Gr. being applied to) the body unmixedly."

Grigor paraphrased this episode, but preserved the word "wing": *յորժամ Աղէքսանդրոս զմահացուցիչն կամէր արտաքսել դարձուցանելով, կրկին թեւոյն թաթախեալ ի ժահր, սպանութեան եղեւ փութացուցիչ* (G. M. 279) — "When Alexander wanted to drive out the killer by disgorging it, again the wing dipped into venom became the accelerator of the murder."

I.4. Combined and confused borrowing from Aristotle and David

Grigor was familiar with the Armenian version of Aristotle's *Categories*, but he probably knew Porphyry's introduction to this text (*Isagoge*) only via the commentary by David the Invincible.[35] Once he mentioned both texts together: *Ապ' եթէ միայն Պորփիւրի առաստութիւնքն իցէ բացորոշեալ ի խնդրոյ Քոխաւորին Հնգից ստորոգութեանցն, որք են այսոքիկ՝ սեռ, տեսակ, տարբերութիւն, յատուկ եւ պատահումն կամ եթէ ութիցն, որք են դիտաւորութիւնն, պիտանացուն, պատճառն մակագրութեան, կարգն, վարդապետական յեղանակն, թէ առ ի՞նչ նման տարբերումն կամ զիւրն իսկ Ստագիրացւոյն գոյացութիւն, որակ, քանակ, եւ առինչ, ուր, երբ, կալ, ունել, առնել, կրել...* (G. M. 241) — "But if Porphyry has determined at Chrysaorius' request the definition of the five categories, which are the following: genus, species, difference, property and accident, or of the eight, which are aim, usefulness, reason for the title, order, mode

[34] Alexander asked for a feather, πτερόν, but the Greek word has also the meaning "wing" chosen by the Armenian translator.

[35] Dawit' Anyałt' 1976 (further Dav. *in Porph.*Arm.); the Greek text of David, *In Porphyrii Isagogen Commentarium* (further Dav. *in Porph.*), was edited by A. Busse in David 1904.

of instruction and pertinence to which part (of philosophy),[36] or of the Stagirite himself, substance, quality, quantity, relation, time, place, position, state, action, passion...”

Grigor brought together under the name of “categories” notions of different origin. Only his last third list names Aristotle’s ten categories, as presented in the Armenian translation of the treatise *On Categories*[37]. The five “terms” of his first list (which are not related to “categories”) are named at the beginning of Porphyry’s *Introduction*: *Ելոյր Հարկաւորի, Քրիսաւորիէ, եւ յառս Արիստոտէլի ստորոգութեանցն վարդապետութիւն, գիտել՝ զինչ սեռ եւ զինչ տարբերութիւն եւ զինչ տեսակ, զինչ յատուկ եւ զինչ պատահումն...*[38] — “It being necessary, Chrysaorius, even for a schooling in Aristotle’s predications, to know what is a genus and what a difference and what is a species and what a property and what an accident...”[39] It was David the Invincible, however, who called them *Հինգ ձայնք* (Dav. *in Porph.* 8, et al.) and *Հինգ բարբառք* (Dav. *in Porph.* 24.28, et al.). Both Armenian words translate the Greek φωνή, which means “voice” but also “word,” here “term.” This would indicate that Grigor borrowed the passage from David’s commentary on Porphyry.

The eight introductory points of Grigor’s second list (which should not be confused with categories either) are named at the start of David’s commentary on Porphyry: *Հանդերձեալք հանդերձ աստուածով սկիզբն առնել առաջիկայ չարագրութեանս զսովորականն պատմողաց խնդրել զգլուխս՝ ուր գոլով*[40] *թուով խնդրեսցուք. եւ են այսքիկ. դիտաւորութիւն, պիտանացուն, պատճառք ձակագրութեան, հարազատութիւն, բաժանումն գլխոցն, կարգն, վարդապետական յեղանակն, առ ինչ ճասն վերաբերումն* (Dav. *in Porph.*Arm. 2 = Dav. *in Porph.* 80.5-14) — “Intending, with the help of God, to start our examination, as it is customary for commentators, with the eight chapters of the present writing, let us start our enquiry. They are the following: aim, usefulness, the reason for the title, genuineness, division into chapters, order, mode of instruction, and the question to which part (of philosophy) it belongs.”

[36] The word *տարբերումն* is a corrupted form of *վերաբերումն*. Grigor also omitted two chapters: “genuineness” and “division into chapters”. The eight “chapters” or “points” are studied in introductions to various commentaries, explaining the respective aspects of the works commented.

[37] See *Արիստոտէլի Կատեգորիւն* (*Aristotle’s Categories*) in Conybeare 1892, Appendix II. Armenian Text, p. 109.26-28.

[38] Porphyry, *Եսագոգէ* (*Isagoge*), in Dawit‘ Anyałt‘ 1932, pp. 133-156 (p. 133) = Porphyry 1887, p. 1.3-5.

[39] Porphyry 2006, p. 3.

[40] The printed text reads *գոլ*; I have corrected it in accordance with some manuscripts and the Greek original in the revised edition: David the Invincible (forthcoming).

II. Direct borrowing from the Greek texts

More significant are Grigor's links with Greek literature proper; here there are to be found numerous corruptions and confusions. In some cases we have managed to find specific sources and to restore the correct forms of names.

II.1. Borrowings from the *Protrepticus* by Clement of Alexandria

Several stories told by Grigor Magistros in his letters seem to derive from the *Exhortation to the Greeks (Protrepticus)* by Clement of Alexandria, a considerable passage of which is identically copied in Eusebius of Caesarea's *Preparation for the Gospel*.

II.1.a. Grigor tells the rare myth about Dionysus torn into pieces by the Titans: *Արդ սա մինչ տակաւին մանուկ տղայն էր, պատրանաւք խաբմամբ խաղուց խաբեցին Տիտանքն, եւ զենեալ յաւշմամբ, ի սան ամանեալ, եդին ի վերայ Հեփեստեայ, իսկ յանդամոցն ի չամփուրս հարեալ, ի վերայ ունելով հրատին: Ջոր ի ճենճերաց հոտոյն ազդ եղեալ Հաւրն Արամազդայ, չանթիւ զՏիտանսն տանջէր, եւ զանդամսն Դիոնեսեայ ի տապանակի եդեալ, Ապողոնի որդւոյ իւրոյ յանձն առնէր. իսկ նորա առեալ ի Պառնասոս տարեալ, անդ ուրեմն եդեալ: Որոյ դրան տաճարին բուսանէր որթն հրաշատեսիլ, յորոյ միոյ յողկուզէ եռապատիկ իննուց հազարաց ճմլիւր ի միում սանի: Բայց ի մեռանել սորա Դիոնեսեայ ի կաթլաց արենէն կարծեցին բուսանել զնռունսն* (G. M. 371) — "As long as he was still a little child, the Titans deceived him with fraudulent games and slaughtering him by tearing into pieces, sinking into a cauldron, put on the fire (lit. Hephaestus), while they skewered some of his members and held above the fire. By that reek this was announced to father Aramazd; he punished the Titans by his thunderbolt and, putting the members of Dionysus in a box, entrusted it to his son Apollo. He took it, carried to Parnassus and deposited there somewhere. Near the door of his temple grew a wonderful vine, from one cluster of which thrice nine thousand was trampled in one cauldron. It was considered that when Dionysus died, pomegranates grew from he drops of his blood."[41]

[41] Another passage by Grigor hints to this last sentence: *Ընկալայ զնռունս ոչ ի կաթլացն կարծելոց արենէ Դիոնիսեայ* (G. M. 242) — "I received the pomegranates, not those considered to have appeared from the drops of Dionysius' blood."

This story concides nearly verbatim with the identical passages in Clement's *Protrepticus* and in Eusebius' *Preparation for the Gospel*[42]: δόλῳ δὲ ὑποδύντων Τιτάνων, ἀπατήσαντες παιδαριώδεσιν ἀθύρμασιν, οὗτοι δὴ οἱ Τιτᾶνες διέσπασαν, ἔτι νηπίαχον ὄντα (Clem. Alex. *Protr*. 2.17.2 = Eus. *Praep. Evang*. 2.3.23.6) — "the Titans having come upon them by stealth, and having beguiled him with childish toys, these very Titans tore him limb from limb when but a child"; οἱ δὲ Τιτᾶνες, οἱ καὶ διασπάσαντες αὐτόν, λέβητά τινα τρίποδι ἐπιθέντες καὶ τοῦ Διονύσου ἐμβαλόντες τὰ μέλη, καθήψουν πρότερον· ἔπειτα ὀβελίσκοις περιπείραντες 'ὑπείρεχον Ἡφαίστοιο.' Ζεὺς δὲ ὕστερον ἐπιφανείς (εἰ θεὸς ἦν, τάχα που τῆς κνίσης τῶν ὀπτωμένων κρεῶν μεταλαβών, ἧς δὴ τὸ 'γέρας λαχεῖν' ὁμολογοῦσιν ὑμῶν οἱ θεοί) κεραυνῷ τοὺς Τιτᾶνας αἰκίζεται καὶ τὰ μέλη τοῦ Διονύσου Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ παιδὶ παρακατατίθεται καταθάψαι. Ὁ δέ, οὐ γὰρ ἠπείθησε Διί, εἰς τὸν Παρνασσὸν φέρων κατατίθεται διεσπασμένον τὸν νεκρόν (Clem. Alex. *Protr*. 2.18.1-2 = Eus. *Praep. Evang*. 2.3.25.2-26.5) — "the Titans who had torn him limb from limb, setting a cauldron on a tripod, and throwing into it the members of Dionysus, first boiled them down, and then fixing them on spits, 'held them over the fire'. But Zeus having appeared, since he was a god, having speedily perceived the savour of the pieces of flesh that were being cooked, — that savour which your gods agree to have assigned to them as their perquisite, assails the Titans with his thunderbolt, and consigns the members of Dionysus to his son Apollo to be interred. And he — for he did not disobey Zeus — bore the dismembered corpse to Parnassus, and there deposited it; τοὺς ἀποπεπτωκότας χαμαὶ ἐκ τῶν τοῦ Διονύσου αἵματος σταγόνων βεβλαστηκέναι νομίζουσι τὰς ῥοιάς — "pomegranates sprang from the drops of the blood of Dionysus." (Clem. Alex. *Protr*. 2.19.3 = Eus. *Praep. Evang*. 2.3.28.6-7). The reference to the same story in the Armenian version of the pseudo-Nonnus' interpretation of the Greek myths menioned in the sermons of Gregory of Nazianzus is too short to be Grigor's source: *Այլ որպէս ասեն զԴիոնւսոս՝ ի տիտանեացն աւչոտեալ՝ այսպէս եւ զՈսիրիս ի Տիփոնոսէ*[43] — "As Dionysus is said to be torn into pieces by the Titans, likewise is Osiris by Typhon."

[42] The translation of the passages below is cited according to: CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA.

[43] (NONNOS) 1903, 220-300, 1.19 (p. 12) (further Nonn.Arm.); this is the translation of PSEUDO-NONNUS 1992, p. 39.19.5-7 (further Nonn.).

Only the sentence "Near the door of his temple grew a wonderful vine, from one cluster of which thrice nine thousand (?) was trampled in one cauldron" has no parallel in the passages cited, and we have not managed to find its source. This sentence seems to be echoed in an obscure passage, which speaks, however, not of thrice nine thousand (27000), but of seven thousand litres: *Կամ միւռենացին կաղնի մերձ առ տաճարն Դիոնիսեայ, զոր բարձեալ մակաւասար որթոյն մատին բարունակեալ չափից եւթն հազարաց լտերց եռունկնեան սափորացն ճմլի Հնձան* (G. M. 364) — "Or the Tyrrhenian oak-tree near the temple of Dionysus, a fruit-bearing vine branch being picked from it, three-handled jugs measuring seven thousand litres are tramped from a wine press" (the translation is conjectural). For the oak-tree near the temple of Dionysus with a vine on it cf.: Ὑπονοεῖται δὲ κατ' ἀλληγορίαν καὶ ὁ Φηγαλεὺς Διόνυσος τῇ φηγῷ παρωνυμεῖσθαι διὰ τὰς ἀναδενδραδας ἀμπέλους (Com.in Il. 2.398.11-12) — "It is allegorically implied that Dionysus bears the name Phegaleus corresponding to the oak-tree, on account of vines growing up trees."

Another passage hints to the previous story about Dionysus, adding one more detail: *Այժմ պարտ էր քեզ գրել թէ՝ "դիւցազեանդ Դիոնիսիո՛ս, ահա՛ հաւանիմք քեզ ելոյ իբրեւ յառնի անպատոգդ հատեալ, բայց ոչ ինձ Ապողոն լինել ըղձամ, զի ի տապանակի եդեալ ի Պառնասոս տարայց ըստանձնեալ"* (G. M. 352) — "Now it was necessary to write about you, divine Dionysus, behold, I accept that your phallus was cut, but I don't wish to be Apollo, so as to undertake to deposit it in a box and take to Parnassus."

The Greek text associates this action with the Corybantes: Καβείρους δὲ τοὺς Κορύβαντας καλοῦντες καὶ τελετὴν Καβειρικὴν καταγγέλλουσιν. Αὐτῶ γὰρ δὴ τούτω τῶ ἀδελφοκτόνω τὴν κίστην ἀνελομένω, ἐν ᾗ τὸ τοῦ Διονύσου αἰδοῖον ἀπέκειτο, εἰς Τυρρηνίαν κατήγαγον (Eus. *Praep. Evang.* 2.3.29.1-7 = Clem. Alex. *Protr.* 2.19.4) — "Those Corybantes also they call Cabiric; and the ceremony itself they announce as the Cabiric mystery. For those two identical fratricides, having abstracted the box in which the phallus of Bacchus was deposited, took it to Etruria..."

The Corybantes are mentioned in another passage, where they are confused with inhabitants of the Tauric Chersonese: *տրամաբանեսցես տերէկովկացի զի կացրդական միւռենական աւտարավրէպ կորբանիցն, արտեմական բագնին գիսկութեան* (G. M. 209) — "You will ponder on the Terecocian (Taurian?) assembly of the Tyrrhenian stranger-killing Corybantes, on the reality of the altar of Artemis." Cf. in Greek: Ταῦροι δὲ τὸ ἔθνος, οἱ περὶ τὴν Ταυρικὴν χερρόνησον κατοικοῦντες, οὓς

ἂν τῶν ξένων παρ" αὐτοῖς ἕλωσι, τούτων δὴ τῶν κατὰ θάλατταν ἐπταικότων, αὐτίκα μάλα τῇ Ταυρικῇ καταθύουσιν Ἀρτεμίδι (Clem. Alex. *Protr*. 3.42.3.1-4 = Eus. *Praep. Evang*. 4.16.12.13-15) — "The Taurians, the people who inhabit the Tauric Chersonese, sacrifice to the Tauric Artemis forthwith whatever strangers upon whom they lay hands on their coasts who have been east adrift on the sea." There are other echoes of the Tauric (Ταυρική) Artemis in the letters: *տոռականին Արտեմիդեայ* (G. M. 302 bis), *դովրացին* (G. M. 334).

The following is nearly a translation from the Greek source: *Եւ զի՞նչ զարմանալիք են, եթէ տիւռռենացի դուժքն ամաւթալեաց պաշտաւն տանին ախտից, ուր եւ աթենացիք իսկ, եւ այլում Ելլադայ եւ Ատտիկէ* (G. M. 297) — "And what is surprising at the Tyrrhenian barbarians, being thus initiated into these foul indignities, when in the rest of Greece and Attica."

Eus. *Praep. Evang*. 2.3.30.1-2 = Clem. Alex. *Protr*. 2.20 Καὶ τί θαυμαστὸν εἰ Τυρρηνοὶ οἱ βάρβαροι αἰσχροῖς οὕτω τελίσκονται παθήμασιν, ὅπου γε Ἀθηναίοις καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ Ἑλλάδι — "And what is surprising at the Tyrrhenians, who were barbarians, being thus initiated into these foul indignities, when (this occurred) among the Athenians, and in the rest of Greece."

II.1.b. In the two following passages Grigor somehow confused the information of his source: *Բայց սակս կաղնւոյս արքայական կամիմք իմաստասիրել զախորժելիսն քեզ: Ոչ արմազդեանն կաղնին պառաւեալ տայր պտուղ, յորում աւազսն պատուիր* (G. M. 363-364) — "But concerning the royal oak-tree we want to philosophize in a way pleasant to you. The old oak-tree of Aramazd (Zeus)[44] did not bear fruit in the sand in which it was regarded sacred"; *Քանզի ծառն կաղնի պառաւեալն Կիրրայի, յոր աւազս պատուեալ յանապատին եւ զգերակատար գագաթանն Արամազդայ ի տապ ժամու հովանաւորեալ, պարածածկէր ի բեզեկեան տապոյն* (G. M. 249) — "For the old oak-tree of Cirrha, regarded sacred in the desert sands, and the over-high top of the [oak-tree] of Aramazd (Zeus) shadowing in hot time, protected from the sun's heat".

The source is: λέβητα Θεσπρώτιον ἢ τρίποδα Κιρραῖον ἢ Δωδωναῖον χαλκεῖον. Γεράνδρυον δὲ ψάμμοις ἐρήμαις τετιμημένον καὶ τὸ

[44] Cf. concerning the oak-tree of Zeus: Ὅμηρος δὲ οὐκ οἶδε τοῦ Διὸς ἱερὰν δρῦν (Schol. in *Il*. 16.233a1.16-17). Cf. also in the Armenian version of the Sermons of Gregory of Nazianzus: *Ոչ եւս բարբառի կաղնին, ոչ եւս կաթսայն դիւթէ* (Gregorius Nazianzenus 1999, V.32 (further Naz.Arm.) = Οὐκ ἔτι φθέγγεται δρῦς· οὐκ ἔτι λέβης μαντεύεται (PG 35.704.42).

αὐτόθι μαντεῖον αὐτῇ δρυΐ μεμαρασμένον μύθοις γεγηρακόσι καταλείψατε (Clem. Alex. *Protr*. 2.11.1-5 = Eus. *Praep. Evang*. 2.3.1.2-4) — "the Thesprotian cauldron, or the Cirrhaean tripod, or the Dodonian copper. The Gerandryon (lit. old oak-tree), once regarded sacred in the midst of desert sands, and the oracle there gone to decay with the oak itself, consigned to the region of antiquated fables."

The following passages too contain some confusion: *մեծ քան զսանսն Թեսպռոտեան* (G. M. 372) — "larger than the Thesprotian cauldron"; *Զայնոսիկ լռեցից զսանսն Թէսպռոտեան, ի վերայ կալով եռոտանւոյն Կիւռռացի, եւ զսանսն տիտանեան, յորում գլաւչեալ զանգամսն Դիոնէսիոսի եդին* (G. M. 304) — "I will keep silence about the Thesprotian caldron, standing upon the Cirrhaean tripod[45] and the Titanian cauldron in which they put the torn members of Dionysus."

II.1.c. The following is an abridged version of the account of some Egyptian cults in the same source (although Grigor's details of the worship of the braize-fish are absent from it): *Ծանաւթ էր նոցա պաշտելն եգիպտացւոց զՆիլոս գետ, եւ ի նմանէն պատուել զՅուր եւ ի նա գոլ փագրոս ձկան, զոր պաշտէին յԵգիպտոս եւ զոհէին, եւ կերպարան զանդրիս նորա կերտացուցանելով ի մէջ քաղաքին, զոհէին, եւ զՍարապիսն, զոր անձեռագործ կամեցան կոչել, եւ բազում վիպասանութեան արժանացուցեալ զնա, զոր գործեալ էր Բրրաքսիս պատկերագործ եւ կանգնեալ մերձ առ դղեկին, ուր Հարճն վախճանեալ, զոր յոյժ տոփալին Պտղոմեանցն գոլով* (M. G. 324) — "They (the Jews) knew that the Egyptians worship the river Nile and honour its waters, and in it there is the braize-fish worhipped in Egypt, whose sculptural image they set in the middle of the city and sacrificed to it, and Serapis which they wished to call 'made without hands', and they favoured it with many stories; it was made by the maker of images Bryaxis who had set it near the citadel where the courtesan had died, who was very dear to the Ptolemies."

Ἀλλ' οὖν γε Αἰγύπτιοι, ὧν νῦν δὴ ἐμνήσθην, κατὰ τὰς θρήσκειας τὰς σφῶν ἐσκέδανται· σέβουσι δὲ αὐτῶν Συηνῖται φάγρον[46] τόν ἰχθύν... (Clem. Alex. *Protr*. 2.39.5.1-3) — "Furthermore, the Egyptians whom I have now mentioned are divided in their objects of worship. The people of Syene worship the braize-fish..."; εἰ δ', φασί τινες, Βρυάξιος ἦν τέχνη, οὐ διαφέρομαι· ἔχεις καὶ τοῦτον ἀγαλματουργόν[47]

[45] This is geographically impossible. The Thesprotian land was situated in the Northeastern part of Greece, while Cirrha was in Central Greece, north of the Peloponnese.

[46] The Armenian word *փագրոս* is a transliteration of the Greek φάγρος.

[47] The word *պատկերագործ* in Grigor's passage is calqued from ἀγαλματουργόν.

(Clem. Alex. *Protr*. 4.47.4) — "and if, as some say, they were the work of Bryaxis, I do not dispute, — you have in him another maker of images"; τοῦτον ἀχειροποίητον[48] εἰπεῖν τετολμήκασιν, τὸν Αἰγύπτιον Σάραπιν; Οἳ μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸν ἱστοροῦσιν χαριστήριον ὑπὸ Σινωπέων Πτολεμαίῳ τῷ Φιλαδέλφῳ τῷ Αἰγυπτίων πεμφθῆναι βασιλεῖ..., εἶναι δὲ τὸ ξόανον τοῦτο ἄγαλμα Πλούτωνος· ὅς, δεξάμενος τὸν ἀνδριάντα, καθίδρυσεν ἐπὶ τῆς ἄκρας, ἣν νῦν Ῥακῶτιν καλοῦσιν, ἔνθα καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τετίμηται τοῦ Σαράπιδος, γειτνιᾷ δὲ τοῖς τόποις τὸ χωρίον. Βλιστίχην δὲ τὴν παλλακίδα τελευτήσασαν ἐν Κανώβῳ μεταγαγὼν ὁ Πτολεμαῖος ἔθαψεν ὑπὸ τὸν προδεδηλωμένον σηκόν... κατασκευάζει δὲ αὐτὸν Βρύαξις ὁ δημιουργός, οὐχ ὁ Ἀθηναῖος, ἄλλος δέ τις ὁμώνυμος ἐκείνῳ τῷ Βρυάξιδι· ὃς ὕλῃ κατακέχρηται εἰς δημιουργίαν μικτῇ καὶ ποικίλῃ. (Clem. Alex. *Protr*. 4.48.1.3-2.1) — "Him they have dared to speak of as made without hands — I mean the Egyptian Serapis. For some relate that he was sent as a present by the people of Sinope to Ptolemy Philadelphus, king of the Egyptians...; and that this idol was an image of Pluto; and Ptolemy, having received the statue, placed it on the promontory[49] which is now called Racotis; where the temple of Serapis was held in honour, and the sacred enclosure borders on the Spot; and that Blistichis the courtesan having died in Canopus, Ptolemy had her conveyed there, and buried beneath the forementioned shrine.... the work was done by the artist Bryaxis, not the Athenian, but another of the same name, who employed in its execution a mixture of various materials."

II.1.d. *Եւ պիւթագորականքն աշակերտք Պիւթագորայ, որ եւ Պիւթագորոս ուսեալ է Փերեկդեայ* (M. G. 222) — "And the Pythagoreans are the pupils of Pythagoras, which Pythagoras was the pupil of Pherecydes."

Φερεκύδου τοῦ Συρίου, ᾧ Πυθαγόρας ἐμαθήτευσεν (Clem. Alex. *Strom*. 1.14.63) — "of Pherecydes of Syros, whose pupil was Pythagoras."[50]

II.1.e. The following long passage is quite a correct abridgement (regardless of some corruptions in names and the very first sentence) of a longer passage concerning various pagan characterizations of god in

[48] The word *անձեռագործ* in Grigor's passage is calqued from ἀχειροποίητον.

[49] Grigor has translated ἄκρα as "citadel," which is one of its meanings.

[50] Cf. also *Փերեկիդէս պատմագիր՝ վարդապետ Պիթագորայ ճանաչէր*, see EUSEBIUS OF CESAREA, 1818, vol. 2, p. 200 (further Eus. *Chr*.) — "the historiographer Pherecydes was known as the teacher of Pythagoras."

Protrepticus: *Եւ Հերմեռաս մեծ չարժաւղ զնա եւ տածող եւ իմանալի աշխարհ*[51]*: Անդիսթինէս զԱստուած ոչ ունէք նմանել ասէ. վասն որոյ զնա ոչ ոք կարէ ուսանել ի պատկերէ կերպարանաց: Իսկ Կղէանթէս Պէգեսացի՝ "արդար, իրաւակ, արժանաւոր եւ սուրբ, իշխան անձին ունի զինքն, պիտանացու, գեղեցիկ, հզաւր, աներկիւղ, պատուական, անհպարտ, խնամածու, հեզ, ի յամենայնէ անբիծ, միշտ նոյնպէս կայ մնայ" . եւ այսոքիկ Կղէանթեայ յաղագս Աստուծոյ: Իսկ պիւթագորականքն այսպէս ասեն. "Աստուած մի է, եւ զսա ոչ, որպէս ոմանք կարծեն, արտաքոյ յարդարման զարդուս է, ի սմա, բոլոր ի բոլորում շրջանակի, ակնածու զէտ ամենայն սերման ծննդեան, խառնումն բոլորեցուն, ելով գործաւղ իւրոյ զաւրութեաննն եւ գործոց, սկիզբն ընչացութիւն բոլոր շրջանակիս եւ ամենեցուն շարժումն" : Սիովդոս Ասկրացի զԱստուած թագաւոր եւ իշխան գոլ ասէ, վսեմ անմահիցն, եւ քան զնա ոչ ոք է այլ զաւրութիւն հաստատեալ եւ յարմարեալ: Իսկ Սոփոկլէս ասէ. "Մի է Աստուած, որ զերկին կազմեաց եւ զերկիր երկար եւ զծովու զահագին ալի եւ զհողմոցն բռնութիւնս": Որփիս այսպէս ասէ. "Մի է, ինքնեղ, միոյ ծնունդք ամենայնք եղեալք եւ կազմեալք, եւ ինքն չուրջ գնայ թափանցանց, ոչ ոք զնա տեսանէ ի մահկանացուացս, բայց ինքն զամենեսին տեսանէ" : Սիբիլլայ մարգարէուհի այսպէս ասէ յաղագս Աստուծոյ. "Սա ամենեցուն յայտնի է, մի է Աստուած, քանզի Աստուած է, անձրեւս, հողմս, շարժունս ի վերայ առաքելով, կայծակունս, երկնի իշխան է եւ զերկիր ունի, ինքն է Աստուած յոյժ սքանչելի* (G. M. 223-224) — "And Hermes Trismegistus [calls God] moving and taking care and intellegible world. Antisthenes says that 'God is not like to any, wherefore no one can know him from an image'. Cleanthes *Pegesaeus* (Pedaseus) [calls him] just, fair, reputable and pious, self-governing, useful, beautiful, powerful, fearless, honourable, humble, careful, meek, blameless, of eternal duration'; these are Cleanthes' words about God. And the Pythagoreans say the following : 'God is one, and he is not, as some suppose, outside of this frame of things, but within it; whole in the whole circle, surveying all nature, blending the whole, the author of his forces and works, the beginning and vital power of the whole circle, and the movement of all things'. The Ascraean *Siovdos* (Hesiod) says that 'God is king and monarch of the immortals and no other power is established and furnished,[52] but him'. And Sophocles says: 'One is God, who made both heaven, and the

[51] See HERMES TRISMEGISTUS 1956, p. 298.5-7: "*Աստուած անշարժելի աշխարհ. երկին շարժուն աշխարհ. մարդ բանաւոր*" ("God is motionless world, heaven is movable world, man is rational").

[52] *է... հաստատեալ եւ յարմարեալ* shows that ἐρήρισται ("vie") is incorrectly interpreted as a form of the verb ἀραρίσκω, whereas it is the medio-passive perfect of ἐρίζω.

far-stretching earth, and the sea's terrible wave, and the mighty winds'. Orpheus says the following: 'He is one, self-proceeding, from him alone all things proceed and are fashioned, and in them he himself exerts his activity, and no mortal beholds him, but he beholds all'. The Sibyl prophetess says the following about God: 'He is all sure; there is one God, who sends rains, winds, earthquakes, thunderbolts; he reigns over heaven, he rules earth, he truly is, very wonderful God'."

Ἀντισθένης μὲν γὰρ οὐ Κυνικὸν δὴ τοῦτο ἐνενόησεν, Σωκράτους δὲ ἅτε γνώριμος 'θεὸν οὐδενὶ ἐοικέναι' φησίν· 'διόπερ αὐτὸν οὐδεὶς ἐκμαθεῖν ἐξ εἰκόνος δύναται'... Κλεάνθης δὲ ὁ Πηδασεύς, ὁ ἀπὸ τῆς Στοᾶς φιλόσοφος, οὐ θεογονίαν ποιητικήν, θεολογίαν δὲ ἀληθινὴν ἐνδείκνυται. Οὐκ ἀπεκρύψατο τοῦ θεοῦ πέρι ὅ τί περ εἶχεν φρονῶν· τἀγαθὸν ἐρωτᾷς μ' οἷόν ἐστ'/ Ἄκουε δή· / τεταγμένον, δίκαιον, ὅσιον, εὐσεβές, / κρατοῦν ἑαυτοῦ, χρήσιμον, καλόν, δέον, / αὐστηρόν, αὐθέκαστον, ἀεὶ συμφέρον, / ἄφοβον, ἄλυπον, λυσιτελές, ἀνώδυνον, / ὠφέλιμον, εὐάρεστον, ἀσφαλές, φίλον, / ἔντιμον, ὁμολογούμενον**** / εὐκλεές, ἄτυφον, ἐπιμελές, πρᾶον, σφοδρόν, / χρονιζόμενον, ἄμεμπτον, ἀεὶ διαμένον... Οὐκ ἀποκρυπτέον οὐδὲ τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὸν Πυθαγόραν, οἵ φασιν 'ὁ μὲν θεὸς εἷς, χοῦτος δὲ οὐχ, ὥς τινες ὑπονοοῦσιν, ἐκτὸς τᾶς διακοσμήσιος, ἀλλ' ἐν αὐτᾷ, ὅλος ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ κύκλῳ ἐπίσκοπος πάσας γενέσιος, κρᾶσις τῶν ὅλων, ἀεὶ ὤν καὶ ἐργάτας τῶν αὑτοῦ δυνάμιων καὶ ἔργων, ἁπάντων ἐν οὐρανῷ φωστὴρ καὶ πάντων πατήρ, νοῦς καὶ ψύχωσις τῷ ὅλῳ κύκλῳ, πάντων κίνασις'... καὶ ὁ Ἀσκραῖος αἰνίττεται Ἡσίοδος τὸν θεόν· / Αὐτὸς γὰρ πάντων βασιλεὺς καὶ κοίρανός ἐστιν· / ἀθανάτων τῷ δ' οὔτις ἐρήρισται κράτος ἄλλος... ὁ δὲ τοῦ Σοφίλλου Σοφοκλῆς, / Εἷς ταῖς ἀληθείαισιν, εἷς ἐστὶν θεός, / ὃς οὐρανόν τ' ἔτευξε καὶ γαῖαν μακρὴν / πόντου τε χαροπὸν οἶδμα καὶ ἀνέμων βίας... ὁ δὲ Θράκιος... ὁ τοῦ Οἰάγρου Ὀρφεύς... εἷς ἔστ', αὐτογενής, ἑνὸς ἔκγονα πάντα τέτυκται· / ἐν δ' αὐτοῖς αὐτὸς περινίσσεται, οὐδέ τις αὐτὸν / εἰσορᾷ θνητῶν, αὐτὸς δέ γε πάντας ὁρᾶται... Αὐτίκα γοῦν ἡ προφῆτις ἡμῖν ᾄσάτω πρώτη Σίβυλλα τὸ ᾆσμα τὸ σωτήριον· / Οὗτος ἰδοὺ πάντ' ἐστὶ σαφής... / Εἷς θεός ἐστι βροχάς, ἀνέμους, σεισμούς τ' ἐπιπέμπων, / ἀστεροπάς, λιμούς, λοιμοὺς καὶ κήδεα λυγρὰ / καὶ νιφετούς, κρύσταλλα· τί δὴ καθ' ἓν ἐξαγορεύω/ / Οὐρανοῦ ἡγεῖται, γαίης κρατεῖ, αὐτὸς ὑπάρχει (Clem. Alex. *Protr*. 6.71.2.1-8.77.2.10) — "For Antisthenes did not think out this doctrine of the Cynics; but it is in virtue of his being a disciple of Socrates that he says, 'that God is not like any other; wherefore no one can know Him from an image.'... Cleanthes Pisadeus, the Stoic

philosopher, who exhibits not a poetic theology, but a true theology, has not concealed what sentiments he entertained respecting God: — / 'If you ask me what is the nature of the good, listen: /That which is regular, just, holy, pious. / Self-governing, useful, fair, fitting, / Grave, independent, always beneficial; / That feels no fear or grief; profitable, painless, / Helpful, pleasant, safe, friendly; / Held in esteem, agreeing with itself, honourable; / Humble, careful, meek, zealous, / Perennial, blameless, eternal in duration. Mean is every one who looks to opinion / With the view of obtaining from it some advantage .' ... We must not either keep the Pythagoreans in the background, who say: 'God is one; and He is not, as some suppose, outside of this frame of things, but within it; but, in all the entireness of His being, is in the whole circle of existence, surveying all nature, and blending in harmonious union the whole, — the author of all His own forces and works, the giver of light in heaven, and Father of all, — the mind and vital power of the whole world, — the mover of all things'... Thus also the Ascraean Hesiod dimly speaks of God: — / 'For He is the King of all, and monarch / Of the immortals; and there is none that may vie / with Him in power.'... And Sophocles, the son of Sophilus, says: — / "One, in truth, one is God, / Who made both heaven and the far-stretching earth, / And ocean's blue wave, and the mighty winds;... the Thracian Orpheus, the son of Oeagrus,... 'He is one, self-proceeding; and from Him alone all things proceed, / And in them He Himself exerts his activity: no mortal / Beholds Him, but He beholds all'... Let the Sibyl prophetess, then, be the first to sing to us the song of salvation: — / 'So He is all sure and unerring: ... There is one God, who sends rains, and winds, and earthquakes, / Thunderbolts, famines, plagues, and dismal sorrows, / And snows and ice. But why detail particulars? / He reigns over heaven, He rules earth, / He truly is'."

II.1.f. The following passage is just a hint to the story told in the source: *Ոչ թողից չասել եւ պխարդաւանական երկպառակութիւն մոլութեանն, որ առ Փերափհեայ ի ձեռն հաւրն գործիւր* (M. G. 308) — "I will not give up speaking about the impure bifurcation of depravity which Pherephatta[53] suffereded from her father."

κυεῖ μὲν ἡ Δημήτηρ, ἀνατρέφεται δὲ ἡ κόρη, μίγνυται δ' αὖθις ὁ γεννήσας οὑτοσὶ Ζεὺς τῇ Φερεφάττῃ τῇ ἰδίᾳ θυγατρὶ μετὰ τὴν μητέρα τὴν Δηώ, ἐκλαθόμενος τοῦ προτέρου μύσους, καὶ μίγνυται δράκων γενόμενος, ὃς ἦν ἐλεγχθείς (Clem. Alex. *Protr*. 2.16.1-2 =

[53] Pherephatta or Pherephassa is a rare name of Persephone-Core.

Eus. *Praep. Evang.* 2.3.19-20) — "Demeter becomes a mother, Core is reared up to womanhood. And, in course of time, he who begot her, — this same Zeus has intercourse with his own daughter Pherephatta, — after Ceres, the mother, — forgetting his former abominable wickedness. Zeus is both the father and the seducer of Core, and shamefully courts her in the shape of a dragon; his identity, however, was discovered."

II.1.g. The following short sentence unites three mythical musicians in one person: *Գիտեմ եւ այլ եւս առնկ... կամ եթէ ի կաղնեացն յայնց, որ զկնի մեթեմնացւոյն Ամփիովնի:* (G. M. 250) — "I also know other trees... or of those oaks which followed Amphion of Methymna."

Ἀμφίων ὁ Θηβαῖος καὶ Ἀρίων ὁ Μηθυμναῖος... Θρᾴκιος δὲ... ἐτιθάσευε τὰ θηρία γυμνῇ τῇ ᾠδῇ καὶ δὴ τὰ δένδρα, τὰς φηγούς, μετεφύτευε τῇ μουσικῇ (Clem. Alex. *Protr.* 1.1.1.1-4) — "Amphion of Thebes and Arion of Methymna... Another, a Thracian (Orpheus)... tamed the wild beasts by the mere might of song; and transplanted trees — oaks — by music."

II.1.h. This abridged version however preserves the main idea of the story: *Քեզ եւ Հոմերականս Հատանէի բան, ի պիսանի (պիտանի?) պուեւտեալ, առաւել քան զԵւնոմէոս, որոյ ճպուռն ի լծակին նստեալ եւ զպակասեալն լնոյր զաղի ի վերայ վիշապին... այլ ի պակասել Եւնոմեայ եւ ի Հատանել աղիոյն Ալէկատրացւոյն զոստուցեալն լնոյր զտեղի ճպուռն այն* (G. M. 292-293) — "And I was composing for you a Homeric story better versed than that of *Eunomius* (Eunomus), on the neck of whose lyre the grasshopper sat and filled in the missing string [singing] about the dragon... When *Eunomius*' [string] was missing and the *Alecatrian*'s[54] (Locrian's) string was broken, the grasshopper sprang and filled in the place."

διηγήσασθαι μῦθον... Εὔνομον τὸν Λοκρὸν καὶ τέττιγα τὸν Πυθικόν· πανήγυρις Ἑλληνικὴ ἐπὶ νεκρῷ δράκοντι συνεκροτεῖτο Πυθοῖ, ἐπιτάφιον ἑρπετοῦ ἄδοντος Εὐνόμου· ὕμνος ἢ θρῆνος ὅφεως ἦν ἡ ᾠδή, οὐκ ἔχω λέγειν. Ἀγὼν δὲ ἦν καὶ ἐκιθάριζεν ὥρᾳ καύματος Εὔνομος, ὁπηνίκα οἱ τέττιγες ὑπὸ τοῖς πετάλοις ᾖδον ἀνὰ τὰ ὄρη θερόμενοι ἡλίῳ. Ἦδον δὲ ἄρα οὐ τῷ δράκοντι τῷ νεκρῷ, τῷ Πυθικῷ, ἀλλὰ τῷ θεῷ τῷ πανσόφῳ αὐτόνομον ᾠδήν, τῶν Εὐνόμου βελτίονα νόμων. Ῥήγνυται χορδὴ τῷ Λοκρῷ· ἐφίπταται ὁ τέττιξ τῷ ζυγῷ· ἐτερέτιζεν ὡς ἐπὶ κλάδῳ τῷ ὀργάνῳ· καὶ τοῦ τέττιγος τῷ ἄσματι

[54] "Alecatrian" seems to be a corruption of "Locrian," but cf. also in Strabo: Τοῦ δὲ Ἄληκος ποταμοῦ τοῦ διορίζοντος τὴν Ῥηγίνην ἀπὸ τῆς Λοκρίδος (see the following note).

ἁρμοσάμενος ὁ ᾠδὸς τὴν λείπουσαν ἀνεπλήρωσε χορδήν. Οὔκουν ᾠδῇ τῇ Εὐνόμου ἄγεται ὁ τέττιξ, ὡς ὁ μῦθος βούλεται, χαλκοῦν ἀναστήσας Πυθοῖ τὸν Εὔνομον αὐτῇ τῇ κιθάρᾳ καὶ τὸν συναγωνιστὴν τοῦ Λοκροῦ· ὃ δὲ ἑκὼν ἐφίπταται καὶ ᾄδει ἑκών. Ἕλλησι δ' ἐδόκει ὑποκριτὴς γεγονέναι μουσικῆς (Clem. Alex. *Protr*. 1.1.2.1-3.5) — "I might tell you... a myth, and a minstrel-Eunomos the Locrian and the Pythic grasshopper. A solemn Hellenic assembly had met at Pytho, to celebrate the death of the Pythic serpent, when Eunomos sang the reptile's epitaph. Whether his ode was a hymn in praise of the serpent, or a dirge, I am not able to say. But there was a contest, and Eunomos was playing the lyre in the summer time: it was when the grasshoppers, warmed by the sun, were chirping beneath the leaves along the hills; but they were singing not to that dead dragon, but to God All-wise, a lay unfettered by rule, better than the numbers of Eunomos. The Locrian breaks a string. The grasshopper sprang on the neck of the instrument, and sang on it as on a branch; and the minstrel, adapting his strain to the grasshopper's song, made up for the want of the missing string. The grasshopper then was attracted by the song of Eunomos, as the fable represents, according to which also a brazen statue of Eunomos with his lyre, and the Locrian's ally in the contest, was erected at Pytho. But of its own accord it flew to the lyre, and of its own accord sang, and was regarded by the Greeks as a musical performer."[55]

II.1.i. The same musician *Eunomius* figures in another passage which has no parallels in the Greek literature: *Պաղէտին Աղէկարացի*[56]*, որ մերձ առ Եւնոմիոսն զարգացեալ երաժշտէր, ի Պոլեպոնտացիսն չու արարեալ, ի կացրդի Դեմեարեայ երգէր երգ՝ ոչ մերկ, այլ արգալիական մորթովք արջառոյն: Փողս պղնձիս ինն եւ տասնեկի եւ վիւրն երգ ձայն վերատառեցեալ առոգացուցանէր լայնելով: Երգ հաւեղն եւ քմազարդիւն ընդ ոնգունսն հոսեալ հնչէր հարթ երկնի, եւ ի փողսն տրոհեալ զաւրէն ճարտարկանն ճռուողեալ հրաշացուցանէր զհանդէսն: Բայց Դեմեարի յայս հայեցեալ, վիւրն կամեցեալ ցուցանել նչանս, վերչարժիկ դողմամբ չարժեցեալ երկիրն: Եւ իմացեալ Պաղէտնայ զայն ազդումն, սկսաւ յանկարծ կաքաւել ոտանքն. եւ թնդիւն դաբման ոտիցն զմիմեամբք ի զկարծրէ կաւշկացն կրնկան կայծակունս թափեալ փայլակնակերպ զեսողացն կափուցանէր զաչս: Բայց Պաղէտին պատուեալ ի Թոմացւոց ժողովէն, եւ ձիր ոսկւոյ նմա չնորհեալ ամի ամի եւթանց հազարաց, ոչ եւս զարձեալ կամեցաւ դառնալ ի*

[55] Cf. also Strabo 6.1.9.1-18.

[56] Cf. *Աղէկաթացւոյն* in the previous passage.

տեղի իւր: Այս սակս կուրիդ երաժշտի քեզ իմաստասիրեցի, զի մի՝ դարձցի ի տեղի իւր, այլ այլուրեք տնաւրինեսցի ի քէն նախախնամեալ, զի զաւրէն Պաղետինայ տաւնեսցէ Դեմեարի ի ժողովին Թոմացւոց (G. M. 366-367) — "Paletin the Alectrian who was educated by Eunomius and practiced music, travelled to the Polepontians (Peloponnesians?), in the festival of Demeter sang a song, not naked, but in an Argive (?) ox skin. He played nineteen brazen pipes and articulately modulated the sound of his song, drawling it; a song in a bacchius meter flowing sweetly from the nose, sounded smoothly in the air, and as it was distinct from the pipe, warbling skilfully, delighted the audience. But Demeter looked at this and wished to manifest her signs, so she moved the earth with upheaving quakes. And Paletin recognizing this manifestation, suddenly started to make dancing movements with his feet. And the tramp of the feet striking against each other with the hard soles of his shoes spread sparkling flashes, making the spectators shut their eyes. But since Paletin was honoured in the assembly of the Thomians, and each year an award of seven thousand gold coins was granted to him, he did not want to return to his place. I philosophized this for you concerning the blind musician, so that he does not return to his place, but like Paletin celebrates the festival of Demeter in the assembly of the Thomians."

In the passage cited not only the corrupt name *Paletin*, and the quasi Greek word *argaliakan* are doubtful, but also the expression "in the assembly of the Thomians." It looks as if it is designating the assembly of the inhabitants of a certain city called Thomi. In reality, in the passage cited below (j) they correspond to ἐν Θαυμασίων συναγωγῇ (in the collection of marvels). Perhaps, the passage about *Paletin* is Grigor's own composition "in Greek style."

II.1.j. The following defective abridgement of the Greek source gives no clear idea of the information in it: *կազմելով զխոհ երախանին բազմազան խորտակաց, առաւել քան ի Պեղղէ Թեսաղացւոց զզոհն Հարիւրաւոր Արամազդայն տաւնի, յորս Թէոպոմպոս էր զակեդեմոնացւոց թագաւորն եւ Եւրիպիդէս ի տեսարանին երգէր. Մոնեմոս պատմէր ի Թոմացւոց ժողովին ի Պեղղէ Թեսաւացւոց* (G. M. 252) — "preparing banquets with various dishes, more than at Pella of Thessaly, the hecatomb at the feast of Aramazd, among whom there was Theopompos, king of the Lacedemonians, and Euripides sang about this in the theater; Monimus related in the assembly of the Thomians, at Pella of the Thessalians."

ἤδη δὲ κατὰ πόλεις καὶ ἔθνη, οἱονεὶ λοιμοὶ ἐπισκήψαντες, σπονδὰς ἀπήτησαν ἀνημέρους. Ἀριστομένης γοῦν ὁ Μεσσήνιος

τῷ Ἰθωμήτῃ Διὶ τριακοσίους ἀπέσφαξεν, τοσαύτας ὁμοῦ καὶ τοιαύτας καλλιερεῖν οἰόμενος ἑκατόμβας· ἐν οἷς καὶ Θεόπομπος ἦν Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλεύς... Ταῦροι δὲ τὸ ἔθνος, οἱ περὶ τὴν Ταυρικὴν χερρόνησον κατοικοῦντες, οὓς ἂν τῶν ξένων παρ' αὐτοῖς ἕλωσι, τούτων δὴ τῶν κατὰ θάλατταν ἐπταικότων, αὐτίκα μάλα τῇ Ταυρικῇ καταθύουσιν Ἀρτεμίδι. ταύτας τὰς θυσίας Εὐριπίδης ἐπὶ σκηνῆς τραγῳδεῖ. Μόνιμος δ' ἱστορεῖ ἐν τῇ Τῶν Θαυμασίων Συναγωγῇ ἐν Πέλλῃ τῆς Θετταλίας Ἀχαιὸν ἄνθρωπον Πηλεῖ καὶ Χείρωνι καταθύεσθαι (Clem. Alex. *Protr*. 3.42.1.8-5.1 = Eus. *Praep. Evang*. 4.16.12.9-18) — "And now, like plagues invading cities and nations, they (the gods) demanded cruel oblations. Thus Aristomenes the Messenian slew three hundred human beings in honour of Ithomian Zeus thinking that hecatombs of such a number and quality would give good omens; among whom was Theopompos, king of the Lacedemonians, a noble victim. The Taurians, the people who inhabit the Tauric Chersonese, sacrifice to the Tauric Artemis forthwith whatever strangers they lay hands on their coasts who have been cast adrift on the sea. These sacrifices Euripides represents in tragedies on the stage. Monimus relates, in his treatise on marvels, that at Pella, in Thessaly, a man of Achaia was slain in sacrifice to Peleus and Chiron."

II.2. Borrowings from other Greek sources

II.2.a. Magistros admonished his anonymous "ignorant" correspondent: *Մի՛ զՊովղեկրատեան հայցեսցես փորձանս եւ մի՛ զմատանին ի ծով ստորանկեալ պակասեսցի, քանզի ոչ ըստ բախտին Պովղեկրատեայ ի ցանցս հարեալ ձկանց դարձեալ արտաբերեալ գոցի* (G. M. 310) — "Don't seek Polycrates' mischance and let your ring not fall into the sea and be lost, since it will not be found, being brought back by fish fallen into the net, as it happened to Polycrates."

Herodotus tells that the tyrant of Samos Polycrates, in order not to tempt fate, cast his precious seal-ring into the sea; a few days later, a fisherman caught a big fish and presented it to Polycrates. His servants found the seal-ring in its belly (Herod. III.41-42). Probably Grigor borrowed not directly from Herodotus, but from Strabo or Libanius who retold the story (Strab. 14.1.16, Lib. *Prog*. 2.11.1).

II.2.b. The same musicians as in II.1.g (Orpheus, Arion) and in II.1.h (Eunomus), figure in the following story: *Լու եղեւ մեզ յոմանց, եթէ Որփիս եհաս առ քեզ Հանդերձ Ալիկատրացեաւն Եւնոմիոսիւ ընդ ինքեան*

ունելով զԱրիովն. բայց զարմանամ, եթէ զիա՞րդ ի սիկիլիացւոց գարձեալ խաղաղութեամբ հասանէ, ոչ նախանձու ծովահեղձուկ ջրասուզեալ եւ ոչ կարաւտացեալ ողորմութեան դլփնի, զոր ստանձնեալ արտաքս բերէր, որ եւ յԱթենա զանդրիան այսպիսի առն ի տաճարին Ապողոնի կանգնեալ պարտ վարկանէին: Եւ սակս երաժշտացն է բանս այնոցիկ, որք մերկ երգով զվկունսն խանձացուցանէին եւ զծառս կաղնիս, ուր եւ կամէին փոփոխէին (G. M. 301) — "We heard that Orpheus has arrived to you with the *Alicatrian Eunomius* (Locrian Eunomus) bringing with him Arion. But I am surprised, how did he arrive from the Sicilians peacefully, not being drowned in the sea from envy and not needing the dolphin's mercy, which undertook and brought him forth, and in Athens they considered it necessary to erect the monument of such a man in the temple of Apollo. This story is about musicians who inflamed fish with bare song and moved trees and oaks[57] wherever they wished";

Parallels are found in Pausanias, Herodotus, Apollodorus and Diodorus Siculus.

ἀναθήματα δὲ ἄλλα τέ ἐστιν ἐπὶ Ταινάρῳ καὶ Ἀρίων ὁ κιθαρῳδὸς χαλκοῦς ἐπὶ δελφῖνος. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἐς αὐτὸν Ἀρίονα καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τῷ δελφῖνι Ἡρόδοτος εἶπεν ἀκοὴν ἐν τῇ Λυδίᾳ συγγραφῇ (Paus. 3.25.7) — "Among other offerings on Taenarum is a bronze statue of Arion the harper on a dolphin. Herodotus has told the story of Arion and the dolphin, as he heard it".

Τῷ δὴ λέγουσι Κορίνθιοι (ὁμολογέουσι δέ σφι Λέσβιοι) ἐν τῷ βίῳ θῶμα μέγιστον παραστῆναι, Ἀρίονα τὸν Μηθυμναῖον ἐπὶ δελφῖνος ἐξενειχθέντα ἐπὶ Ταίναρον, ἐόντα κιθαρῳδὸν τῶν τότε ἐόντων οὐδενὸς δεύτερον (Herod. 1.23) — "The Corinthians say (and the Lesbians agree) that the most marvellous thing that happened to him (Periander, sovereign of Corinth) in his life was the landing on Taenarus of Arion of Methymna, brought there by a dolphin. This Arion was a lyre-player second to none in that age." In more detail Herodotus related this story in 1.24, mentioning that Arion was sailing from Sicily, the crew plotted to take his money and cast him overboard. He persuaded them to sing a song before being cast. A dolphin took him on his back and carried him to Taenarus, where a bronze memorial of Arion stands, the figure of a man riding upon a dolphin.

[57] The same ability is ascribed to the grasshopper that filled in Eunomius' missing string (II.1.h.): *եւ զկապնիսն մերկ երգով փոփոխէր եւ ուր կամեսցի տնկէր* (G. M. 292) — "and with bare song it moved oaks and planted them whenever it wished."

Ορφεὺς ὁ ἀσκήσας κιθαρῳδίαν, ὃς ᾄδων ἐκίνει λίθους τε καὶ δένδρα (Apollod. 1.14.2-4) — "Orpheus, who practised minstrelsy and by his songs moved stones and trees"; ὥστε δοκεῖν τῇ μελῳδίᾳ θέλγειν τά τε θηρία καὶ τὰ δένδρα (Diod. Sic. 4.25.2) — "so that he (Orpheus) seemed to enchant beasts and trees with melodies."

II.2.c. After telling about the Ascension of Christ to his Father from the Mount of Olives, Grigor adds: *Որ ոչ իբրու զայն, որ յԱյտնէ լեառն հրասուզիւր ի բերանս հրոյն, աստուածացուցանելով զինքն. զոր ծածկէր կիւսն այն հպարտացեալ, որ եւ ի կաւշկացն յայտնէր կեղծիքն կորստեան* (G. M. 375) — "Not like him who plunged into the fire-pouring mount Aetna, into the mouth of fire, making himself a god. The arrogant magician was concealing this, but the falsehood of his death was detected by his shoes."

Ἱππόβοτος δ' φησιν ἐξαναστάντα αὐτὸν ὡδευκέναι ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν Αἴτνην, εἶτα παραγενόμενον ἐπὶ τοὺς κρατῆρας τοῦ πυρὸς ἐναλέσθαι καὶ ἀφανισθῆναι, βουλόμενον τὴν περὶ φήμην βεβαιῶσαι ὅτι γεγόνοι θεός, ὕστερον δὲ γνωσθῆναι, ἀναρριπισθείσης αὐτοῦ μιᾶς τῶν κρηπίδων (Diog. Laert. *Vit* 8.69.4-8) — "But Hippobotus says that [Empedocles] rose up and went away as if he were going to mount Aetna; and that when he arrived at the crater of fire he leaped in, and disappeared, wishing to establish a belief that he had become a God. But afterwards the truth was detected by one of his slippers having been dropped. For he used to wear slippers with brazen soles."[58]

II.2.d. The myth about the footrace and marriage of the huntress Atalanta, daughter of Schoeneus, is alluded to twice: 1) *Թուէր ինձ, եթէ զԱստեղանտեայ զվազսն թափ առեալ ոտիւք քեզ պատահեալ Պոմպենէս եւ պարգեւեալ խնձորիւքն, որ յԱստղկանէ չնորհս, եւ հոլովիւք ի խաղսն անդամաբեկսն պարտեալ ուրեմն ամաչէր* (G. M. 309) — "It seemed to me that when you were gathering speed in *Astelante*'s (Atalanta's) race, *Pompenes* (Hippomenes) came across you, and presented you apples, Astłik's (Aphrodite's) gift, and being overcome by many [apples] in the limb-tiring games, she brought shame upon herself"; 2) *Այժմ զխնձորոցս*

[58] DIOGENES LAERTIUS 1853. However, Grigor might have also used another source: *Եմպեդոկղէս այս սիկեղացի էր ազգաւ, պիւթագորական իմաստասիրութեամբ, եւ կամեցեալ սնափառիլ, եթէ սրբազանեալ յերկինս վերացաւ՝ արկ զինքն ի հուրն, որ ելանէ ի լեռնէն յԵտնեայ: Այլ այս հուր ասի եթէ Հեփեստոսի խառնարանն է: Արդ նա կորեաւ ի ձեռն հրոյն, այլ աստուած կամեցեալ հրապարակել զսնափառութիւն նորա՝ զկաւշիկս նորա ողջ հրոյն ի բաց եա թքանել: Եւ այսպէս ծանուցաւ, թէ ոչ վերացաւ, այլ կիզաւ ըստ արժանի սնափառութեան իւրոյ:* (Nonn.Arm. 3.1 [p. 25]).

կամիմք քեզ պուետիկոսել, թէպէտեւ յայլոց մատենագրաց: Խնձորս երբեմն յԱստղկայ շնորհեալ՝ ոչ միայն կնոջն հասանիւր տուիանաց, այլեւ զկեանս շնորհեալ մնայր ի պատժիցն մահու եւ այլ ուրեմն խնձորս սրընչանս անդամաբեկս խաղուցն հայել ի գեղմն (G. M. 365) — "Now I wish to tell you a poetic story about apples, although taking from other authors. Once receiving apples as a gift from Astłik (Aphrodite), someone not only satisfied his lust for a woman, but also was rewarded with life instead of the death penalty. And the other one delayed looking at the apples whistling by in the limb-tiring games."[59]

In various versions of the myth, Atalanta's suitor was Melanion or Hippomenes. Grigor's allusion to this story is so brief that it is impossible to speak of a specific source; cf.: 'βάλλειν μήλοις' ἐπὶ τῶν τυχόντων ὧν ἐρῶσι. παρῆκται δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν πεμφθέντων παρ' Ἱππομένους ἐπὶ Ἀταλάντην μήλων. προύκειτο μὲν γὰρ τῷ νικῶντι δρόμῳ τὴν Ἀταλάντην ἔπαθλον ὁ ταύτης γάμος. Ὁ γοῦν Ἱππομένης εἰς ἅμιλλαν καταστὰς χρυσᾶ μῆλα πρότερον παρὰ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης λαβὼν καὶ ταῦτα ῥίπτων αὐτῆς περιγέγονεν ἀσχολουμένης περὶ τὴν τῶν μήλων συλλογήν (Plut. *De proverbiis Alexandrinorum* 44.1-5) — "'To throw apples': for those who are loved. This derives from the apples sent by Hippomenes to Atalanta. For one, who defeated Atalanta in the footrace, marriage with her was appointed as a prize. So Hippomenes engaging in contest, having taken beforehand golden apples from Aphrodite and throwing them, overcame, as she was busy collecting the apples"; Πολλοὶ μὲν ἔκειντο μνηστῆρες ὑπὸ Ἀταλάντης ἡττηθέντες ποδωκείᾳ τῆς κόρης, ἔδει γὰρ ἡττώμενον μὲν ἀποθανεῖν, νικῶντα δὲ γαμεῖν, Ἱππομένης δὲ ταύτης ἐπιθυμῶν, δεδιὼς δὲ τὸν κίνδυνον δεῖται τῆς Ἀφροδίτης συμπρᾶξαι. ἡ δὲ ἔδωκε τὰ χρυσᾶ μῆλα καὶ εἶπεν ὅ χρὴ ποιεῖν ἐν τῷ δρόμῳ. ὡς οὖν ἔθεον, ὁπότε πλησίον ἡ κόρη γένοιτο, μῆλον ἠφίει, ἡ δὲ ἐθαύμαζέ τε καὶ ὑπολειπομένη τὸ

[59] The second parts of both passages cited, concerning limb-tiring games (*եւ հոլովիւք ի խաղսն անդամաբեկսն պատրեալ ուրեմն ամաչէր* and *եւ այլ ուրեմն խնձորս սրընչանս անդամաբեկս խաղուցն հայել ի գեղմն*) are not quite clear, so our translation is conjectural. They may hint at a completely different story. Similar words occur in the introduction (*Պատճառ ոտանաւոր բանիցս*) to the poem Տաղասացութիւն: *իբրու յայնմանէ ոչ կարէր ծածկել ինչ եւ կամ գանլուծանելիսն առաջի արկանել, այլ մանաւանդ իբրեւ զմանուկ այսր անդր յածեալ իբրու խաղալեաւք զհետ վրդովեալ վազիւք, իբրու ի խնձորսն սոնչանսն, անդամաբեկ վազիւքն տատանէի զնա* (G. M. 139) — "when he [Manazi, in his confessional controversy with Grigor] could neither mask something nor confront with inexplicable things, he would stagger like one injured while running — very much like a child hopping here and there, running with exhaustion when playing games, like juggling apples" (translation by Terian, see Magnalia Dei 2012, p. 34).

μῆλον ἀνῃρεῖτο, ἐγγιζούσης δὲ πάλιν τὸ αὐτὸ ἐδρᾶτο. καὶ διὰ τοιοῦδε σοφίσματος Ἀταλάντη μὲν εἶχε τὰ μῆλα, Ἱππομένης δὲ Ἀταλάντην (Lib. *Prog*. 2.33-34) — "Many suitors lay dead because of Atalanta defeated by the girl's swiftness of foot; for those defeated had to die, while the winner had to marry her. Hippomenes lusting after her and in fear of the danger, asked help from Aphrodite. She gave the golden apples and said what he had to do in the footrace. When they started to run, each time the girl was coming near, he would throw an apple, she was surprised and falling behind would pick up the apple. And when she was approaching again, he would do the same. And with the help of this contrivance, Atalanta got the apples and Hippomenes, Atalanta."

II.2.e. *Բայց եթէ պատճառես այժմ իբրեւ զԱւդիսեւս*[60]*, զի մի՛ զինւորիցիս ընդդէմ մեզ, զեզն եւ զձի ի միասին լծեալ, սակայն գտցի քեզ Պաղէմիդէս եւ զՏեղեմաքոս կալեալ ի պատճառս զենման, զի զգաստասցիս* (G. M. 310) — "But if now you are reasoning, like Odysseus that you are not going to fight against us having yoked together an ox and a horse, nevertheless a Palamedes will be found for you and will take Telemachus for slaughter, so that you come to your senses."

The passage cited alludes to the myth about Odysseus, according to which he did not want to take part in the Greek campaign against Troy and feigned madness (Apollod. *Epit*. 3.7; Luc. *De domo* 30; Philostr. *Her*. xi.2, Tzetz. *Schol. in Lyc*. 818). He pretended to rave (Apollod.), or yoked different animals (Luc.), an ox and a horse (Philostr.) or an ox and a donkey (Tzetz.) to the plough and sowed salt. Palamedes snatched Telemachus and drew his sword as if he would kill him (Apollod., Luc.) or laid him in front of the plough (Tzetz.) and Odysseus immediately betrayed his sanity. Grigor mentioning an ox and a horse agrees with Philostratus, but the latter merely says that Palamedes tested Odysseus by Telemachus. Grigor's words *ի պատճառս զենման* (for slaughtering) resembles the drawing of the sword in Apollodorus and Lucian. So Grigor's version concides in all its details with none of the mentioned versions of the myth, and it is impossible to point to a specific source.[61]

[60] Kostaneanc' (GRIGOR MAGISTROS 1910, p. 231) read this word as *զօդիս եւս*, so he obviously did not understand that it is a name.

[61] The variant of pseudo-Nonnos also differs (it coincides with the story told by Tzetzes): ... *Ագամեմնոն յորդորէր զՈդիսեւս ելանել ի Տրովադայ, եւ նա ոչ կամեցեալ՝ ձեւանայր մոլութիւն, եւ լծեալ էշ եւ արջառ, իբր թէ արաւրագրել ձեւով մոլութեանն: Իսկ Պաղամեդէս յանդիմանէր զնա ոչ գոլ մոլեալ, եւ յանդիմանեաց այսպէս. զՏեղեմաքոս՝ զորդի նորա, ընկեց առաջի արաւրոյն. ապա Հասեալ Ոդիւսեայ մինչեւ ցձանուկն՝ վերացուցանէ զարաւրն, զի մի զանեսցի մանուկն, եւ ծանուցաւ, թէ զգաստ է* (Nonn.Arm. 3.55 [p. 47-48]) =

III. Mixed borrowings

There are complicated cases in which both Armenian versions of Greek texts and Greek original writings are Grigor's sources.

III.a. Attempting to etymologize the strange name *Ewtap'ol*, Grigor mentioned Athena's birth, her symbolic connection with the number seven, and the myth about her contest for Attica with Poseidon: *Գ[է]որգ անուանեալզ Եւտափաւլ, որոյ անունդ նշանակէ զԱթենայ զայն, որ յուղղոյն Արամազդայ ծնեալն էր, կոյսն ունելով զթիւն եւթեանն, ներքոյ տասնեկին, որ ոչ ծնեալն է եւ ոչ ծնանի զոք, որպէս ասէ Պոիոտոս, եւ Փիւնիկէ որում տեղեակ իսկ ես: Քանզի հմուտ ես բոլորին, մանաւանդ եթէ թուականութեանն... Բայց ասեն եթէ Պիսիդոն երբեմն մաքառէր ընդ կուսին Աթենայ իբրու զի երկիր նմա լիցի ծով, զոր քաջին Աթենայ ոսկի ուռամբն*[62] *զծայրս ծառացելոյ ալեացն կոփեալ վերջնանահանջ առնէր, զոր իւր բերեալ զՊոռոմիթոսն զայն, որ յաստուածոյն զհուր գողացեալ, չնորհէր աշխարհի Հանդերձ Հեփեստիւ: Այսպէս եւթնեակդ, զոր բանս Աթենայ անուանեաց, եւթն անկիւնքն յեռանկիւնեացն բաղկացեալ կրկնապատիկ վեցանկիւնիս ծնանին միոյ կարաւտացելոյ միակին յարաբարդութեանն, որպէս Եւտափաւլզ քումդ աւգնականութեան* (G. M. 321) — "Geworg called *Ewtap'ol* (Encephal ?), whose name means the Athena who was born from the brain of Aramazd, a virgin who has the number seven which is not generated (i.e. is not the multiple of any numbers) inside the ten and does not generate any (number), as *Priotos* (?) says, and *P'ynikē* (the Porphyry the Phoenician?[63]), of which you are aware, since you are skilled in everything, especially in arithmetic... But they say that Poseidon once contested with virgin Athena so that the land would become sea for him, and bold Athena striking with a golden hammer the tops of the swollen waves

τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος προτρεπομένου τὸν Ὀδυσσέα ἐπὶ τὴν περὶ Τροίαν ἔξοδον, καὶ μὴ θέλων ἀπελθεῖν ὁ Ὀδυσσεὺς καὶ μανίαν προσποιησάμενος καὶ λαβὼν ὄνον καὶ βοῦν, καὶ δῆθεν ἀροτριῶν ἐν μανίας προσποιήσει, ὁ Παλαμήδης ἤλεγξεν ὅτι δὴ οὐ μαίνεται. ἤλεγξε δὲ αὐτὸν Τηλέμαχον τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ προθεὶς πρὸ τοῦ ἀρότρου. Εἶτα φθάσας ὁ Ὀδυσσεὺς περὶ τὸ παιδίον, ἐπῆρε τὸ ἄροτρον ἵνα μὴ πλήξῃ τὸ παιδίον, καὶ ἐγνώσθη ὅτι νηφάλιός ἐστιν (Nonn. 4.62.6-13).

[62] The same expression occurs in the poem Տաղասացութիւն: *Տեսլեան Շողակաթին ոսկի ուռամբն կոփողին* (G. M. 183 [verse 983]) — "In the vision of Shoghakat' (the effusion of light): the strokes of the golden hammer" (Magnalia Dei 2012, p. 63 [verse 939]). This image is borrowed from the vision of St. Gregory the Illuminator: *Իսկ այրս սհաւոր եւ չքեղաւոր, որ զառաջնոն ունի զլուսոյն եւ զուռնն ոսկի ի ձեռին իւրում, եւ բաղխեաց զանդարամետսն՝ այս տեսչութիւն Աստուծոյ է* — "And the fearsome and splendid man, who held the vanguard of the light and the golden hammer in his hand and struck the depths of hell, he is the providence of God," see Agathangelos 1976, 743, p. 282-283.

[63] Cf. Dav. *in Porph.*Arm., p. 22.9 *Պորփիւրի Փիւնիկեցւոյ.*

made them recede; she also brought Prometheus who having stolen the fire from the gods, granted it to the world together with Hephaestus. Likewise is the case of the number seven which our story called Athena; heptagons are produced when two triangles constitute a hexagon, adding a deficient one, as *Ewtap‘ol* for helping you.”

This passage has several, translated and original, sources:

1) *Եւթն թիւդ կոյս լսի, որպէս Ա֊թենայ եւ ժամանակ: Եւ կոյս՝ վասն զի ամենայն թիւ ի ներքոյ տասնեկիդ կամ ծնանի զոք կամ ծնանի յումեքէ. իսկ եւթն ոչ ծնանի զոք ի ներքոյ տասնեկիդ եւ ոչ ծնանի յումեքէ, որգոն, երկուք ծնանի զչորս ի ձեռն բազմապատկութեան, եւ երեք՝ զինն... Իսկ եւթն թիւդ, որպէս յառաջագոյն ասացաք, ոչ ծնանի զոք եւ ոչ ծնանի յումեքէ ի ներքոյ տասնեկիդ: Արդ այսպէս եւ Ա֊թենայ կոյս լսի, վասն զի ասեն արտաքինքն զԱ֊թենայէ, թէ ի գլխոյն Արամազդայ ծնաւ* (Dav. *Prol.*Arm. 112.26-114.10 = Dav. *Prol.* 53.18-34) — “the number seven is called virginal, like Athena and time. It is called virginal because all the numbers which are less than the number ten either generate a number or are themselves generated by some number; but seven neither generates any number which is below the number ten, nor is generated by any number. For example, through multiplication two generates four and three generates nine... But seven, as we have said, neither generates nor is generated by any of the numbers below ten. Athena is also called virginal for the heathens say that Athena was born from the head of Aramazd”.

2) *Եւ պարտ է գիտել, եթէ զթուականն փիւնիկեցիք գտին, որպէս վաճառականք գոլով եւ թուականութեան պէտս ունելով առ ի համարել* (Dav. *Prol.*Arm. 132.20-22 = Dav. *Prol.* 63.25-26) — “It should be known that the Phoenicians, being merchants, needed the art of calculation, and so invented arithmetic” (Dav. *Prol.*AEng. 133).

3) *Զեւս կամեցեալ յուղղոցն իւրմէ բացածնանիլ զԱ֊թենա* (Nonn. Arm. 4.22 [p. 72]) = Ὁ Ζεὺς βουλόμενος ἀποκυῆσαι ἐκ τοῦ ἐγκεφάλου αὐτοῦ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν... (Nonn. 5.22) — “Zeus wishing to bring forth Athena from his brain.” So the mysterious name *Ewtap‘ol* may probably be a corrupted form of *Encephal* (?).[64] Another case of transliterating a Greek word is *եաեկնիմ* (in the form *եաեկնեսցես*) in one of Grigor’s enigmatic poems (letter 87: “Gamagtakan”), from ἔτεκον.[65]

[64] Of course, such an interpretation leads to the conclusion that Grigor read pseudo-Nonnus not in Armenian translation, but in original.

[65] Biwzandac‘i 1900, p. 132. The author found out that the poem “Gamagtakan,” most of the words in which need interpretation, has a counterpart in letter 47, dealing

4) ἡ Ποσειδῶνος πρὸς Ἀθηνᾶν ἐστιν ἔρις ὑπὲρ τῆς γῆς (Paus. 1.24.5) — "Poseidon had strife with Athena for the land"; καὶ τριαίννης ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ πέτρᾳ σχῆμα· ταῦτα δὲ λέγεται Ποσειδῶνι μαρτυρία ἐς τὴν ἀμφισβήτησιν τῆς χώρας φανῆναι (Paus. 1.26.5) — "On the rock is the outline of a trident. Legend says that these appeared as evidence in support of Poseidon's claim to the land"; Ἔστι ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλι ταύτῃ Ἐρεχθέος τοῦ γηγενέος λεγομένου εἶναι νηός, ἐν τῷ ἐλαίη τε καὶ θάλασσα ἔνι, τὰ λόγος παρὰ Ἀθηναίων Ποσειδέωνά τε καὶ Ἀθηναίην ἐρίσαντας περὶ τῆς χώρης μαρτύρια θέσθαι. Ταύτην ὦν τὴν ἐλαίην ἅμα τῷ ἄλλῳ ἱρῷ κατέλαβε ἐμπρησθῆναι ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων (Herod. 8.55.2-10) — "there is a temple of Erechtheus the Earth-born, as he is called, in this citadel, containing within it an olive-tree and a sea. The tale goes among the Athenians, that they were placed there as witnesses by Neptune and Minerva, when they had their contention about the country. Now this olive-tree had been burnt[66] with the rest of the temple when the barbarians took the place"; *Ա՛ս սոքաւք Կեկրոփս Դիփիէս Ակտեայ, որ այժմ Ատտիկէ անուանի թագաւորեաց: Ա՛ս Կեկրոպեաւ ձիթենի ի բարձրաւանդակի քաղաքին նախ բուսաւ. եւ յԱթէնայ Աթէնք անուանեցաւ* (Eus. *Chr*. 2.100) — "In these days Cecrops the double-natured reigned over Acte which is now called Attica. Under Cecrops first an olive grew on the acropolis of the city, and Athens was called so from Athena"; *Կեկրոփս յԵւբոյիա զԱթէնաստան եւ զԴիադէս չինեաց* (Eus. *Chr*. 2.102) — "In Euboea Cecrops built Athenes and Diadae," cf. Κέκροψ Ἀθήνας τὰς καὶ Διάδας ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ ἔκτισεν (Sync. 179.23), where only Diadae are in Euboea.

with the same subject (repraoching the Greek grammarian Kirakos) in a more common and comprehencible idiom. The word corresponding to *եաեկնեսցիս* in the mentioned letter is *ծնցիս* ("you will give birth"). Some other Greek words transliterated are: *սիւնիքթոսական* (G.M. 361, from συνεχής), *իմեռիական* (G.M. 279, from ἡμερινός), *պրաքթիս* (G.M. 369, from πρᾶξις), *սիմեռիկոն* (G. M. 291, from σημερινός), *փագրոս* (G. M. 245, 246, 251, 322, from φάγρος), *եպիդեմեալ* (G. M. 314, from ἐπιδημέω), *սալպինփաւնիս* (G. M. 302, from *σαλπιγγοφώνος); also terms for Byzantine officials: *մագիստրոս* (G. M. 336, from μάγιστρος), *վեստ* (G. M. 314, 336 from βέστης, βεστίτωρ), *տուկ* (G. M. 336, from δούξ), *տէչէտիս / տեչետիս* (G. M. 278, 315, 374, 375, 377, 378, from τελεστής), *ռեքտաւռ* (G. M. 328, from ῥέκτωρ), *անթիպատութիւն* (G. M. 363, from ἀνθυπάτεια), *պատրիկ եւ պռոտուսպաթար* (G. M. 328, from πατρίκιος, πρωτοσπαθάριος), *անթիպատ պատրկութիւն* (G. M. 359, from ἀνθυπατικὴ πατρίκεια), *սինկիտոս* (G. M. 329, from σύγκλητος), *վառիս* (G. M. 369, from βαρύς, interpreted so in ABGARYAN 1995, 147), etc. (see the whole list in our introduction: GRIGOR MAGISTROS 2012, pp. 115-119).

[66] This motif may be the source of the mention of the fire stolen by Prometheus and of Hephaestus in Grigor's passage in question.

III.b. A similar story with some new details is told by Grigor on the occasion of the interpretation of the number seven: *Եաւթնեակն Աթենայ կուսածին յուղղոյն Արամազդայ Պիկկոսին, պատանի գոլով, ոչ ծնեալ եւ ոչ ծնիցեալ, ընդ Պիսիդոնայ մարտուցեալ, եւ ոսկեղէն ուռամբն բռնամարտիկ կոփոն մակ կառափին կարկառեալ, զխոնաւախոյզն վերջնանահանջ արարեալ խարդաւանաւղ գծովայածուկն կապտաւղ, որ մակ երկնի ծառացեալ, զծայրս ալեացն ծփէր, եւ զնիզակն ի տունկն ձիթենւոյ յեղափոխեալ ի դղեկին Ելլադայ յամուրն Ատտիկէի նախասացեալն Դիափկեաեայ կանգնեալ, որ այժմ Աթեանս անուանի* (G. M. 243) — "The seven-fold Athena having been born from the brain of Aramazd (Zeus) Picus, while young, neither generating nor being generated, fighting with Poseidon and hitting with a golden hammer strong blows on the head, making the water-prowler, the fraudulent sea robber recede,[67] him who agitated the tops of the waves swollen over the land, and transforming the spear into an olive-tree, erected it in the citadel of Greece, in the acropolis of Attica what was previously said to be *Diap'keteay* (?) and now is called Athenes."

Picus (Lat. "woodpecker") was originally a secondary Roman god, then king of Italy, son of Saturn (Diod. Sic. 6.5.1). Later he was identified with Zeus, and his name became one of his epithets: Πῖκος ὁ καὶ Ζεύς (Malalas, passim; Chron. Pasc. 65.16, 18; 67.3; 68.19; 69.3, 5, 7, 15, 20; 74.17; 80.2, 6, 18). Cf. *Բայց ոմանք ասեն, թէ Պիկոս որդի Կրաւնայ թագաւորեաց նախ ի Ղաւրենտայ աշխարհին՝ մինչեւ ցայն տեղի, ուր այժմ Հռոմն կայ, ամս ԼԷ.: Եւ յետ նորա Փաւնոս որդի Պիկայ ամս ԽԴ.* (Eus. *Chr.* 1.384-385) — "But some say that son of Cronus Picus first reigned over the land of Laurentum, till the place where now Rome is, for 37 years, and after him Faunus son of Picus, for 44 years," cf. πρὸ Αἰνείου α′ φασὶ Πεῖκον υἱὸν Κρόνου βασιλεῦσαι χώρας Λαυρέντου λζ′, εἶναι δὲ τὴν χώραν ἕως τῆς νυνὶ Ῥώμης πόλεως, μεθ' ὃν Φαῦνον τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ Πείκου τοῦ καὶ Διὸς ἔτη μδ′ (Sync. 200.14-17), *Յաւուրս Դեբովրայ մարգարէուհւոյ, որ ընդ Բարակայ՝ որք ի Դիոսէ վիպասանին. ուստի Պիկոս անուանեալ Ջեւս*[68] — "In the days of prophetess Deborah who was in the time of Barak, the events took place which are told about Zeus. Hence Zeus was called Picus."

"Percussamque sua simulat de cuspide terram / edere cum bacis fetum canentis olivae" (Ov. *Met.* 6.80-81) — "She shows an olive-tree with pale trunk, thick with fruit, born from the earth at a blow from her spear."

[67] The passage describing the details of the fight is obscure and probably corrupt. Our translation is conjectural.

[68] Philon Tirakac'i 2005, p. 914.

III.c. The information about several figures in the following passage finds parallels in various sources (only *P‘erekdes* remains unclear): *Թէպէտ եւ ոչ աստուածպետականին Հասին բախտ եւ աւծման եւ մաքրութեան, սակայն կաթիլ իմն աստուածային առ նոսա կաթեալ՝ Փերեքդէս փարթամն այն ատտիկեցի, տոգորեալ կարասեաւք, ի ծովականն Տրովադայ յԱպպինոսէ արտալածի սակս իրաւացի գոլոյ նմա ի խուժանէ: Եւ Պղատոն ի Սիկիլիայ վաճառեալ, թէպէտ եւ պատճառեն եպիկուրեանքն սակս խրախճանութեանն չոգեալ: Սոկրատէս մեռանի սակս համբակացն դիտողութեան եւ ի կատական Հեգնաբանութիւնն. “Անիրա՞ւ, ասեն, մեռանիս”, պատասխանեալ. “Կամի՞ք, զի յիրաւի”: Թողից զյոգունսն՝ զՀոմերոսիի Մելամպոսեան, զԴիմոսթինեան աւրէնսդրի եւ զՈդիսեայ Հռետորոսի, եւ որոց այս են Հետեւեալ* (G. M. 268) — “Although [the following men] did not achieve divine fate, and unction and purification, but some divine drop had dropped upon them. The Athenian man of wealth *P‘erekdes*[69] rich in goods, was expelled by *Appinos* (?) to maritime Troad, since he was condemned by the crowd. Plato was sold in Sicily, although the Epicureans argue that he had gone there for entertainment. Socrates died because of the young men’s oversight and playful irony; they said: ‘Are you dying unjustly?’ and he answered: ‘Do you want [me to die] justly?’[70] I will leave aside Homer son of Melampus, legislator Demosthenes, orator Odysseus and those who follow them.”

Grigor wrote about Homer in more detail in his *Commentary on Grammar*: *Հոմերոս էր որդի Մեղամպոդոսի, այսինքն Սեւոտան, եւ մաւր Եւմիտեայ՝ յազգէ Հոմնիսեայ: Եւ սոքա էին տաղասացք եւ երգեցիկք եւ քերդողք: Եւ էր սա ի գաւառէ Զմիւռնիա ի քաղաքէ Ցունաց բնակեալ անդ. եւ էր գետ մի, որում անուն յորջորջիւր Մելէս, եւ կոչէին զՀոմերոս Մելեսածին: Եւ յետ այսորիկ պատերազմ եղեալ ընդ Զմիւռնացիսն Կողոփոնեացն եւ պատանի գոլով Հոմերոս ասէ ցԶմիւռնացիսն. “Ես կամիմ ձեզ Հոմերանալ”, այսինքն պլինելոցն գուշակել ձեզ: Եւ բնակեալ ի տան Քիքոսի, կուրացեալ ի պատահմանէ չար ախտից եւ որակութեանց, կոչեցաւ Հոմերոս, քանզի Հոմերոս կուրութիւն թարգմանի*[71] (G. M. 388) — “Homer was the son of Melampus that is of the blackfooted, and of Eumetis from

[69] Langlois (1869, p. 37) proposed to interpret this name as “Pericles” (since the manuscript he had probably read *Փերեքդէս*, like Grigor Magistros 1910, p. 5). *Փերեքդէս* may represent Pherecydes (?).

[70] Cf. another passage mentioning the same episodes: *Սոկրատայ մեռանելն անիրաւաբար, կամ վաճառելն Պղատոնի* (G. M. 323) — “Socrates dying unjustly or Plato being sold.”

[71] Later commentators on Grammar repeated this story: see Yovhannēs Erznkac‘i (1230-1298) 1983, pp. 94-95; Yovhannēs Corcorec‘i (1283-1340) 1984, pp. 117-118; Esayi Nčec‘i 1966, pp. 58-59.

the family of *Homnisus*. These were songsmiths and singing poets. He was from the land of Smyrna, from a Greek town, dwelling there. And there was a river called Meles, and they called Homer 'Melesigenes'[72] After this there was a war of Colophonians with the Smyrnaeans, and Homerus being young said to the Smyrnaeans : 'I wish to be Homer for you', that is to foretell the future for you. And dwelling in the house of *Chichus*, becoming blind as a result of a malicious illness and leprosy,[73] he was called Homerus, since 'homerus' is translated as blindness."

Here are parallels from various texts:

1) Περικλῆς μὲν οὖν Ἀθηναίων πρῶτος ἐγένετο καὶ πλούτῳ καὶ γένει τῶν καθ' ἑαυτῶν διήνεγκεν (Eus. *Praep. Evang*. 10.14.13.2-3) — "Pericles became the first man of Athens, and excelled his contemporaries both in wealth and birth."[74]

2) *զՊղատոնի զաւշոտութիւնն զՍիկելական, յաղագս որոյ եւ վաճառեցաւն* (Naz.Arm. IV.72 = PG 35.596.3-5) — "Plato's Sicilian gluttony, for which he was sold"; *Այլ ասէ աստուածայինն Գրիգորիոս, թէ վասն այսորիկ չոգաւ Պղատովն ի Սիկիղիայ, զի վայելեսցէ պատուականութեամբ ճաշոցն Դիովնիսեայ: Եւ ստուգէ զասացեալսդ վաճառիլն նորա, քանզի ճշմարտապէս վաճառեցաւ...* (Nonn.Arm. 3.23 [p.34-35] = Nonn. 4.23.5-8) — "Divine Gregory says that Plato went to Sicily for the following reason, in order to enjoy the abundance of the dinners of Dionysius. And he makes precise his words about him being sold, since sold indeed he was..."

3) *Սոկրատէս իմաստասէր Ապողոդորայ յաշակերտաց ուրումն նմա ասացեալ՝ անիրաւ նահ հատին ի վերայ քո Աթենացիքն, ընդդէմ ծիծաղեալ ասէ՝ կամէիր թէ յիրաւի՞* (TheonArm. 40 = Theon 99.30-100.1) — "The philosopher Socrates, when one of his pupils Apollodorus said him that the Athenians condemned you to death unjustly, laughed in response and said: 'Would you like that justly?'."[75]

[72] *Մելեսածին* literally corresponds to Μελησιγενής.

[73] The word *որակութիւն* does not make sense; it could be a result of corruption of *ուրկութիւն*.

[74] The translation (and of the further passages) is according to: EUSEBIUS OF CAESAREA 1903.

[75] Grigor mentions Theon's work in letter 40 (40); when praising the erudition of the cleric Grigor Hnjac'i, he incites king Gagik to accept him at his court, so that he may study the wisdom of Armenian authors, Homeric verses and "Theon's art of rhetoric" (*Թովմեան արհեստն հռետորական*, G. M. 315). Cf. also (Σωκράτους) τῆς γυναικὸς εἰπούσης, 'ἀδίκως ἀποθνήσκεις,' 'σὺ δέ,' ἔφη, 'δικαίως ἐβούλου' (D.L. 2.35); Σωκράτης ἐν τῇ εἱρκτῇ φρουρούμενος πρὸς τὸν ἑταῖρον αὐτοῦ δακρύοντα καὶ λέγοντα 'ἀδίκως ἀποθνήσκεις, ὦ Σώκρατες' παρέδειξεν εἰπὼν 'οἴει δέ με δικαίως ἀποθνήσκειν;'

4) Ὅμηρος ὁ ποιητὴς ἦν... ἔστι δ' ἡ τοῦ γένους τάξις κατὰ τὸν ἱστορικὸν Χάρακα αὕτη. Αἰθούσης Θρᾴσσης Λίνος, τοῦ δὲ Πίερος, τοῦ δ' Οἴαγρος, τοῦ δ' Ὀρφεύς, τοῦ δὲ Δρής, τοῦ δ' Εὐκλέης, τοῦ δ' Ἰδμονίδης, τοῦ δὲ Φιλοτέρπης, τοῦ δ' Εὔφημος, τοῦ δ' Ἐπιφράδης, τοῦ δὲ Μελάνωπος, τοῦ δ' Ἀπελλῆς, τοῦ δὲ Μαίων, ὃς ἦλθεν ἅμα ταῖς Ἀμαζόσιν ἐν Σμύρνῃ καὶ γήμας Εὔμητιν τὴν Εὐέπους τοῦ Μνησιγένους ἐποίησεν Ὅμηρον. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὴν πατρίδα ἀμφίβολος διὰ τὸ ἀπιστηθῆναι ὅλως εἶναι θνητὸν τῷ μεγέθει τῆς φύσεως. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἔφασαν γενέσθαι Σμυρναῖον, οἱ δὲ Χῖον... καὶ προσηγορεύετο μὲν κυρίως Μελησιγένης· καὶ γὰρ ἐτέχθη παρὰ τῷ Μέλητι ποταμῷ κατὰ τοὺς Σμυρναῖον αὐτὸν γενεαλογοῦντας. ἐκλήθη δ' Ὅμηρος διὰ τὸ πολέμου ἐνισταμένου Σμυρναίοις πρὸς Κολοφωνίους ὅμηρον δοθῆναι... γηραιὸς δὲ τελευτήσας ἐν τῇ νήσῳ τῇ Ἴῳ τέθαπται, τυφλὸς ἐκ παίδων γεγονώς· τὸ δὲ ἀληθές, ὅτι οὐχ ἡττήθη ἐπιθυμίας ἣ διὰ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἄρχεται, καὶ παρὰ τοῦτο ἱστορήθη τυφλός (Suda 251.1-241) — "Homer was a poet... According to historian Charax his genealogy is as follows: From the Thracian Aethousa Linus was born, from him, Pierus, from him, Eagrus, from him, Orpheus, from him, Dres, from him, Euclees, from him Idmonides, from him, Philoterpnes, from him, Euphemus, from him, Epiphrades, from him, Melanopus, from him, Apelles, from him, Maeon who went with the Amazons to Smyrna and marrying Eumetis, the daughter Euepes, son of Mnesigenes,[76] gave birth to Homer. Likewise his birthplace was argued about, since he was not beleived to be mortal at all because of the greatness of his nature. Some said he was from Smyrna, others, from Chios... And he was indeed called Melesigenes, for he was born near the river Meles, according to those who drew out his origin as Smyrnaean. He was called Homer because during the war of the Smyrnaeans with the Colophonians he was given hostage... Dying old, he was buried on the island of Ios, being blind from childhood. Also it is true that he was not won by desire which starts because of eyes and for this was told to be blind."

(Steph. *In Artem Rhet*. 280.22-24); ὁ Σωκράτης πρὸς τὸν εἰπόντα 'ὦ Σώκρατες, ἀδίκως ἀποθνήσκεις' εἴρηκε 'σὺ δε ἄρα ἐβούλου με δικαίως ἀποθανεῖν' (Mich. Psell. *in Arist. Soph. Elench*. 172.12-13).

[76] Cf. in Grigor: "from the family of *Homnisus*"; the father of Eumetis was Εὔεπος ὁ Μνησιγένους. Grigor might have interpreted this as "Euepus from the family of *Homnisus*" (ὁμνησι γένους?).

So Melampus as Homer's father in Grigor, may be explained as a misinterpretation of the name of his great grandfather Melanopus.[77] The "dwelling in the house of *Chichus*" may derive from Homer's origin in Chios.

5) γέγονεν ὑμῖν Δημοσθένης νομοθέτης... (Lib. *Decl*. 18.1.28.5-7) — "Demosthenes became your legislator."

6) εἶπεν Ὀδυσσεὺς ῥητορικῶς... (Eustath. *In Hom. Od*. 2.154.41) — "Odysseus spoke rhetorcally"; Ἔχεις προλαβὼν παρ' Ὁμήρου τοὺς χαρακτῆρας τῶν ῥητόρων... τὴν δὲ Ὀδυσσέως ῥητορείαν εἰκάζει νιφάδων πυκνότητι (Lib. *Decl*. 3.1.1) — "You have in advance Homer's characters of orators... He likened Odysseus' oratory to the denseness of snowflakes."

IV. Descriptions of weather

There is a series of picturesque and dramatic descriptions of weather in the *Letters* of Grigor Magistros. Ancient Greek gods figure as personages in them.

IV.a. Poseidon is personification of wetness and rain, Hephaestus and Prometheus, of heat and torrid weather, Cronus, of cool weather and frost. "Hephaestus" also means just "fire." Similar symbols or allegories are found in Eusebius, in the writings of Grigor's younger contemporary Michael Psellus and in the commentaries on Homer's poems by Eustathius of Thessalonica.[78]

"Hephaestus" as "fire" was used already by Homer (*Il*. 2.426).

εἴ γε πῦρ μὲν ἦν αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἥφαιστος καὶ ἡ θερμὴ δύναμις, Ποσειδῶν δὲ ἡ ὑγρὰ οὐσία (Eus. *Praep. Evang*. 3.13.21) — "If at least they made Hephaestus fire and the force of heat, Poseidon the watery element..."

Ἥφαιστος γὰρ εἰς τὸ θερμὸν ἀλληγορικῶς ἐκλαμβάνεται δαίμων λεγόμενος ἐπιστατῶν τῇ θερμῇ οὐσίᾳ (*Com. in Hom. Il*. 1.232.2-4) — "Hephaestus is allegorically understood for heat, called a deity in charge of the hot essence".

[77] The name of Melampus was known from Nonnus: *Մելամպուս, որ ասի սեւոտն դիւթ էր եւ սրբազանիչ* (Nonn.Arm. 3.43 [p. 43] — "Melampus which means blackfooted was a seer and hierophant," cf. ὁ Μελάμπους μάντις ἦν καὶ ἱεροφάντης (Nonn. 4.45.6).

[78] Although this author lived in the 12th c., his commentary is a compilation of older scholia.

Ἥφαιστος μέν ἐστιν ἡ ἁπλῶς θερμότης ἢ ἡ καθ' ὑπερβολὴν καὶ καυστική (Mich. Psell. 54.94-95) — "Hephaestus is simply heat or hyperbolically also burning".

Ποσειδῶν μὲν γὰρ εἰς ὑγρότητα ἐκλαμβάνεται (*Com. in Hom. Il.* 1.232.11 = Mich. Psell. 54.29) — "Poseidon is understood for wetness."

Κρόνος καὶ Τιτᾶνες ὑπερβολαὶ ψυχρότητος ἄκρατοι καὶ ἄτακτοι (*Comm. in Hom. Il.* 3.640.19-22) — "Cronus and the Titans are the hyperboles of coolness, unmixed and orderless."

In the following passages of Grigor Magistros the roles seem clear: *Ապա՝ մերձ առ Ծոփս յորջորջեալ աշխարհ հուպ մերձ եղելոյ՝ հասանէ աժխոյժն խիզախմամբ իւրովն ճանճաճերմակ եւ սալասմբակն երիվարաւ մակաւասար մենամարտիկն այն եւ գոռոզն Պիսիդոն յայսպիսի հեծեալ եւ, ընդ ինքեան առեալ զքաջավազիկն երկնաչու եւ վրնջապապչեակ զքաւչն քաղեան*[79]*, աճապարեալ նահանջեաց զդէմ էառ, եւ Հեփեստոս ի փախուստ եղեալ Հանդերձ Պռոմէթիւ: Բայց եւ կարծիս կասկածանաց եղեալ մեզ զգուշական բաղխոհուԹեամբ ի մերոց լրտեսաց, եԹէ Կռաւնոս զկնի դարանեալ հեծեալն յայծ եւ հաւտ քաղին, անժամանակ իմն նախաբուրական պատահեաց մեզ* (G. M. 300-301) — "Then being close to the land called Cop'k', the haughty single fighter Poseidon (rainy weather) arrived with cheerful daring, riding his black-white and slab-hooved[80] horse. He brought with him the swift-footed bleating he-goat,[81] hastily confronted the retreat, and Hephaestus together with Prometheus took to flight. But with prudent caution through our spies we formed a doubtful opinion that Cronus (cool weather), having made an ambush after the one who had saddled the goat and came across us out of season, as if bringing his fragrance beforehand"; *մի՛ Կռաւնոս հասցէ Հանդերձ Հիւսիսային զաւրովն, ընդ ինքեան բերեալ զՊիսիդոն, մակավազիկ առնելով ի վերայ աւանաց* (G. M. 333) — "Let Cronus not arrive with his northern army, bringing with him Poseidon, making raids on settlements."

[79] Cf. *Կռաւնոս յայծի հեծեալ ի վրնջապապչակն քաղ սալասմբակ* (G. M. 334) — "Cronus is riding a goat, a bleating slab-hooved he-goat."

[80] The epithets *ճանճաճերմակ եւ սալասմբակն* are typical neologisms invented by Magistros; the semantic aspect in them is subordinate to the phonetic effect of consonance. Especially the first one (lit. "fly-white") is difficult to interpret. Our translation follows the interpretation of the *NBHL* and the *Aṙjeṙn Baṙaran*.

[81] Cronus too appears riding a goat (see note 79). This motif of the goat could be inspired by the image of the fiery meteor called goat in Arist. *Mete*. 341b3. Cf. also ὃ δὴ νέφος κατὰ πᾶν ἐξαπτόμενον αἴξ τε καὶ κομήτης λέγεται (*Michaelis Pselli De metereologicis*, in Michael Psellus 1992, p. 19.121-122) — "the cloud which is all the time inflamed is called 'goat' and comet."

IV.b. In the mentioned passages concerning weather there also occur Aphrodite, Athena, as well as Apollo and Artemis.

Apollo could symbolize the sun, cf.: ὁ μὲν ἥλιος Ἀπόλλων κέκληται (Eus. *Praep. Evang*. 3.1.5.9) — "the sun, is named Apollo"; εἴ γε πῦρ μὲν ἦν αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἥφαιστος καὶ ἡ θερμὴ δύναμις, Ποσειδῶν δὲ ἡ ὑγρὰ οὐσία, Ἥρα δὲ ὁ ἀήρ, καὶ γῆ πάλιν ἡ μὲν ὄρειος καὶ πετρώδης Ῥέα, ἡ δὲ γόνιμος καὶ πεδινὴ Δημήτηρ καὶ Κόρη δὲ ἡ σπερματοῦχος καὶ Διόνυσος ἡ φυτευτικὴ τῶν ἀκροδρύων δύναμις καὶ ἥλιος Ἀπόλλων σὺν τοῖς κατειλεγμένοις, σελήνη δὲ ποτὲ μὲν Ἄρτεμις, ποτὲ δὲ Ἀθηνᾶ καὶ πάλιν Ἑκάτη καὶ Εἰλείθυια... (Eus. *Praep. Evang*. 3.13.21) — "They made Hephaestus fire and the force of heat, Poseidon the watery element, Hera the air, and the mountainous and rocky earth Rhea, the plain and fruitful earth Demeter, Koré the seminal power, and Dionysus the power which produces hard fruits, the sun Apollo, together with those who have been enumerated above, and the moon at one time Artemis, at another Athena, and again Hecate, and Eileithyia"; τῶν ἐμπυρωτάτων ἄστρων καὶ πυριφλεγεστάτων ὁ μὲν ἥλιος Ἀπόλλων κέκληται, ὁ δὲ πυρροειδὴς Ἄρης ἐπωνόμασται (Eus. *Praep Evang*. 3.1.5.7-9) — "of the most fiery and blazing luminaries one, the sun, is named Apollo, and the other of a fiery red is surnamed Ares."

Athena probably was the personification of air, aether or earth, cf.: τὸν δὲ ἀέρα προσαγορεῦσαί φασιν Ἀθηνᾶν, μεθερμηνευομένης τῆς λέξεως... (Eus. *Praep. Evang*. 3.3.7) — "The air, it is said, they called Athena, the word being so interpreted"; ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ εἰς γῆν ἀλληγορεῖται καὶ εἰς αἰθέρα ἐκλαμβάνεται (*Com. ad Hom. Il*. 1.132.22-23) — "Athena is allegorically interpreted as earth and is taken in the sense of aether"; Ἔχει δὲ λόγον πνοιὴν εἰπεῖν καὶ τὴν ἁπλῶς ἀνεμιαίαν ῥιπήν, ἧς δοκεῖ πως καὶ Ἀθηνᾶ αἰτία εἶναι, οὐ μόνον ὡς Διὸς θυγάτηρ, ὃς καὶ εἰς ἀέρα ποτὲ ἐκλαμβάνεται, οὐδ' ὅτι ἀλληγορεῖται εἰς αἰθέρα, ὡς ἐν τῇ α′ ῥαψῳδίᾳ ἐρρέθη, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ ἄλλως ἔχει τινὰ οἰκείωσιν πρὸς τὸν Ποσειδῶνα, ἐξ οὗπερ οἱ ὑγρὸν ἀέντες ἄνεμοι καὶ αὖραι δέ, ἃς ' Ὠκεανὸς ἀνίησιν ἀναψύχειν ἀνθρώπους'. φησὶ γοῦν Ἡρόδοτος τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν φύσει μὲν τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος θυγατέρα νομίζεσθαι τοῖς ἐν τῇ Λιβύῃ, θέσει δὲ τοῦ Διός. καὶ εἰκός ἐστι τὴν τοῦ Διὸς ἀέρος, μηδὲ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος ἠλλοτριῶσθαι. Τὸ δὲ 'ψύξασα' τὸ φύσει ψυχρὸν τοῦ ἀέρος δηλοῖ (*Com. ad Hom. Il*. 4.434.2-11) — "It is possible to call the word blast and simply rush of wind, of which Athena seems to be the cause, not only as Zeus' daughter, who sometimes is taken in the sense of air, and not because she is allegorically interpreted as aether, as she was called in the first rapsody,

but also because in another way she has a certain affinity with Poseidon, from whom are the winds and breezes blowing damply, which 'Ocean send up... that they may give cooling to men'. Herodotus says that Athena is considered by the Libyans Poseidon's daughter by nature and Zeus' daughter by adoption. And seemingly she is deprived of Zeus' air, and not of Poseidon's. And 'breathing' indicates the coolness of the air."

For Aphrodite and Artemis we have not found proper parallels.

So their roles in the following passages of Grigor Magistros are not quite clear and one is limited to making conjectures about them:

1) *Այսբար բոզն այն Ափռոդիտէս փրփրածինն հանդերձ արբն Պիսիդոնիւ առ մեզ ի դաշտիս Մամիկոնեան ներգործեաց. որ եւ ապականեաց վաւաշ բորբորիտոն գիջամոլի պոռնիկն* (G. M. 355) — "In this way that harlot foam-born Aphrodite together with the male Poseidon exerted influence upon us in the field of the Mamikoneans, which the lustful voluptuous and lascivious prostitute destroyed."

Probably the "foam-born"[82] being related to Poseidon, is endowed with humid nature?

2) *Մինչ տակաւին Հեփեստոս մանուկ է եւ Պռիմիթոս երիտասարդ եւ Աթենա կոյս ոչ պառաւեալ, աճապարեա՛ աւգնականութեամբ նոցա, զի... մի՛ Կռաւնոս հասցէ հանդերձ հիւսիսային զաւրովն, ընդ ինքեան բերեալ զՊիսիդոն, մակավազիկ առնելով ի վերայ աւանաց՝ չահատակել աւժանդակ եւ հզաւր բռնութեանն: Քանզի քաջ գիտեմք, եթէ Պռիմիթոս այժմ ուշ եղեալ է խաղալ չու մաւտ առ Բաբելոն եւ անդուստ ի ծայրս հարաւոյ, եւ Պիսիդոն հանդերձ սպիտակափառն զաւրովք չահատակել հանդերձեալ է. եւ Կռաւնոս յայծի հեծեալ ի վրնջապապղակն քաղ սալասնբակ. եւ յայսմանէ զարհուրեալ իւրաքանչիւր ոք յանբան կենդանեացն, որ՛ոց եւ խորս եւ ամբարս յարմարեն* (G. M. 333-334) — "Until Hephaestus is still a child and Prometheus is young and virgin Athena has not grown old, you hurry to help them, so that Cronus does not arrive with his northern army,

[82] Cf. also *իբրու զԱփռոդիտէս, որ ի փրփրոյ եւ յարենէ ծնեալ* (G. M. 325) — "Like Aphrodite who was born from foam and blood"; *Պիսիդոն... իւրովին փրփրածին հիքամորթի աւրիորդաւն* (G. M. 354-355) — "Poseidon with his foam-born bare-skin damsel." Grigor could learn that Aphrodite was born from foam already from the following Armenian translations: *երկին հայր լինէր Կռովնոսի, եւ Կրովնի ոչ կամեցեալ լինել նմա այլում որդւոյ, առեալ գերանդի՝ ի բաց հատանէ զպատկառանս հաւրն եւ ընկենու ի ծով: Եւ փրփրոյ ելոյ չուրջ գնովաւ՝ ծնանի Ափրոդիտէս ի փրփոյ անտի. ուստի եւ անուանեցաւ Ափրոդիտէս, որ է փրփրածին"* (Nonn.Arm. 3.81 [p. 62] = Nonn. 4.88.1-5) — "Sky was the father of Cronus, and since Cronus did not want him to have another son, took a sickle, cut away his father's private parts and cast them into the sea. And since foam appeared around them, from that foam Aphrodite was born. Hence she was called Aphrodite, that is foam-born"; *փրփրածինն Կիպրոս* (Alex.Arm. A 171 = Alex. α 1.46a8.9) — "foam-born Cypris."

bringing with him Poseidon, making raids on settlements to attack them with mighty violence. Since we know well that Prometheus cares to move next to Babylon and from there, to the extreme south, while Poseidon is going to attack with his white army (the waves), and Cronus is riding a goat, a bleating slab-hooved he-goat; and horrified by him, all irrational animals arrange burrows, pits and stores."

This seems to be a picture of the attack of cold and humid weather (Cronus and Poseidon) and the retreat of the heat, Hephaestus and Prometheus with whom Athena is connected; her function is difficult to determine.

3) *ՑԱնանիա, գոլով յուղւոջ, երկուցեալ ի հոսանուտ հողմոյ յաւուրս ձմերայնոյ... Ըստ ըղձման քո փափաքանաց տեսութեան մեզ տենչալիր. եւ ես ըղձանաւք ուշ եղեալ երկարագոյն ուղեգնացութենէ հասանել, իբրու նաւ ի ծփանաց ծառացեալ կոհակաց ալեաց ի նաւահանգիստ յայգպիսիդ ժամանել, մինչ տակաւին Աթենայ իւրովն հարսնացեալն զարդու պերճ եւ պաճոյճ սաղարթանայր բոլորն իւրածին յոգնաբեղուն չարակայացեալ զարմիւ, տայր մեզ աչալուրջ իմն եւ սիրալի աւգնականութիւն, եւ ընդարձակագոյն դրունս յամենայնի չու պարել ընթացիւք* (G. M. 300) — "To Anania, while travelling, fearing of the humid wind in winter time... In your desires you were eager to see us; me too, I was moved with the desire of arriving after a long journey, as a ship lifted by the agitation of the waves moors to the harbour, while Athena in her maidenly beauty luxuriantly blossomed, surrounded by all her numerous relatives gave us vigilant and wonderful help, widely open doors, to move dancing all the way."

Here Athena seems to symbolize the wind favourable for sailing.

There are other passages of this kind more difficult to interpret.

IV.c. The following passage is not related to weather; Hephaestus is the allegory of fire, Poseidon, of water: *Սապէս կամելով մեր զյաւչուածս կիսին, զոմանս ի չամբուրս հարեալ ի վերայ Հեփեստեայ, զոմանս ի սանի հանդերձ Պոսիդոնիւ ամոքեալ, եւ զոմանս ի տապակի տրամաղրական ձակեղուտ ելով ելլադացի իւղովք, եւ զոմանս ծպտեալ ի մէջ Դիայ...* (G. M. 252) — "So wishing [to eat] the pieces of the fish, we fixed some on spits upon Hephaestus, we softened some in a cauldron with Poseidon, we placed some on a frying pan adding Greek oil, and we hid some inside Zeus..."

The function of Zeus remains unclear.

IV.d. Dionysus figures in the sense of "wine": *ի Դիոնիւսեայ զմայլեալ* (G. M. 350) – "having enjoyed Dionysus," i.e. "drunken"; *ըմպելեաց զմայլեցուցից ի խորինս խաղացուցեալ ի Դիոնիսեայ* (G. M. 290) — "I shall make you enjoy drinking, drawing into the depth of Dionysus."

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Among Greek authors with whom we have managed so far to find parallels, Clement of Alexandria, Eusebius of Cesarea, Diogenes Laertius, Plutarch, Libanius, Homer's commentator Eustathius, Pausanias, Herodotus, Diodorus Siculus, Apollodorus, Suidas and others are found. In some cases there is verbal affinity, nearly translated passages, especially with Clement of Alexandria. In other cases it is impossible to point to a specific source. The only ancient author in this list is Herodotus and his story seems to be known to Grigor in later renarrations. This fits with the supposition Leroy[83] that Grigor usually did not work with the ancient texts themselves, but with later compilators, and that he received information on classical philosophy from the first Christian philosophers.[84]

A series of enigmatic passages still remains in the *Letters* of Grigor Magistros, which we have not yet managed to decipher, or which are only partly clear. Here are some examples of such unsolved questions:

Why when retelling the famous fable of Aesopus about the greedy dog and its shadow (M. G. 252-253), does Grigor call it "the dog of Parmenides (and of Pałmenides[85])"? Is there any relation with the pre-Socratic philosopher Parmenides? It concludes with the following: *Զոր Պաղխոսի կենդանագրեալ ի Պարմենիդայ տաճարին ներձ մակագրեալ խրատականս այսպիսեաց անիմաստ տուիմն* — "And *Palchus* (Malchus?) painted this in the temple of Parmenides, inscribing next to it didactic words concerning such a senseless desire."

Who is the other Parmenides, to whose son he refers in the story of his kidnapping by an eagle in the stadium of Pella of Thessaly, of his miraculous rescue and becoming priest of Tauric Artemis and outstanding musician[86] (M. G. 301-302, letter 31[52])?

[83] Leroy 1935, p. 287.

[84] In the famous letter 50[21] where Grigor writes about his translation of Plato's *Timaeus* and *Phaedo* and Euclid's *Geometry*, he also mentions that he found existing Armenian translations of Olympiodorus, Callimachus and Andronicus (G. M. 330). Leroy (1935, p. 289-291) supposed that in case of Callimachus, Grigor means not his poetry, but his prosaic philological writing Πίνακες τῶν ἐν πάσῃ παιδείᾳ διαλαμψάντων, καὶ ὧν συνέγραψαν (Suda 227.16-17), a sort of a catalogue of the Alexandrian library, excerpts form which concerning Greek philosophers could have been translated by the representatives of the Hellenizing School; this translation could be Grigor's source about philosophers.

[85] *Պարմենիդայ, v.l. Պաղմենիդեայն.*

[86] The story is: *Որպի Պարմենիդայ, համբակ գոլով եւ մինչդեռ տակաւին յանտիական խակութեանն ոչ յարբունս հասեալ, չքնաղագեղն այն յածեալ յասպարիսին Պեղղեայ Թեսաղացւոց, արծիւ սրաթեւ ալացեալ մագլաւք իւր կարկառեալ զնա կամելով առնել յաշխարհն Արգիացւոց եւ ծովու պատահեալ անցից, ձկնորսաց բախեցուցեալ զնաւս վարչաւքն. յորմէ բախմանէ ընդոստուցեալ խրատնայր արծիւն: Եւ զերծեալ մանկանն*

Who is Porphyrophonos (or Porphyrophonis) also mentioned in two letters (30[51] and 32[53])?

Who is the obscure *Trochonius* (*տորբանական*[87] *Տրոքոնիոս*) to whom Euripides appeals, and why is Euripides characterized as Peripatetic (G. M. 267)?

Who is *Sabelas* that wrote about *Attinos* who wished just to sleep and have enough good food and was reproached for that by *Poleponos*[88] (G. M. 322)?

Who is the "old *Critas*" that wrote about the vine planted by Dionysus,[89] whom other Greek chronographers followed[90]? This *Critas* told

Պարմինիդեայ ստորանկեալ ի ծովն ընկղմէր եւ մանաւանակաւ պարփակեալ նաւորդացն մինչեւ պղպջակս արձակեալ ծովուն վերաբերիւր մանուկն: Իսկ նոցա զչքնաղագեղն այն եւ զհրաշատեսիլն ընկալեալ, մատուցանէին զնա տոռականին Արտեմիդեայ եւ ողոքեալ խնդրէին մնալ մանկանն կենդանի, զի մի՛ ըստ սովորութեան աւտարասպանին այն խոպխոզեսցի: Եւ մարդասիրեալ բազնապետին, հրամայէր ապրեցուցանել ոչ միայն, այլ եւ չնորհս տալ նմա քահանայութեան: Եւ վարժեալ նորա ամենայն իմաստութեամբ, իսկ երաժշտականութեամբ առաւել ծայրագոյն: Զորմէ ասի պատուասիրել յԱրգիացւոցն եւ յամենայն տոռական լեռնայնոցն: Զորոյ եւ զպատկերն անդրի արարեալ ի պղնձոյ եւ աւծեալ ոսկւով, փող ի բերանն ունի եւ ծիրանի բեհեզ փողեալ ի ծայրս փողին: Զայսոսիկ նկարագրութեամբ զնա գրաւչդնել պարտ վարկան, որպէս երբեմն անուանեալ զայնոսիկ, որ նախնւսա գրեցաք Պոռփիւռոփոնիս զսա սալպինգփաւնիս այսինքն քնարերգ — "The son of Parmenides, being a good-looking boy and having not yet attained maturity from puerile unripeness, wandering in the hippodrome of Pella of Thessaly, a swift-winged (ὀξύπτερος) eagle while soaring, lifted him with its claws, wishing to take him to the Argive land, and happening to pass a sea, fishermen striking the ship with oars, and from this striking it was scared and startled. Being released, Parmenides' son fell down and sank into the sea and was hidden from the sailors, until the sea blew bubbles and the boy was drawn up. They took him, the beautiful and splendid-looking, and presented him to the Tauric Artemis and begged to keep the boy alive, so that he would not be killed according to the stranger-murdering (ξενοκτόνος) custom. The chief of the altar showed humanity and ordered not only to let him live, but also to confer priesthood on him. He exercised all learning, but especially music; it is told that he was honoured by the Argives and all highlanders. They also made his sculpture of bronze and gilded it: he has a pipe in his mouth and there is purple byssus on the tip of the pipe. They considered it necessary to portray him by presenting these, since once the above-mentioned Porphyrophonis called him *salpingophonos* (trumpet player) that is citharode." It is interesting to note that Clement of Alexandria in his citation of De. 14:13, adds the epithet "swift-winged" (ὀξύπτερος) to the "eagle" (Clem. Alex. *Strom*. 2.15.67.3, 5.8.51.2).

[87] This word and the verb *տորբանեմ* are used exclusively by Grigor Magistros. The first element is unclear. Dictionaries (e.g. *NBHL*) interpret them on the base of his contexts as "writing long and/or obscure texts."

[88] One may think of Penelope and Antinous in Homer's Odyssey.

[89] Cf. *որթոյ գիւտ ի Դիոնիսեայ ծանեալ որ ի Սիճելեայ* (Eus. *Chr*. 2.106), ἀμπελουργία ὑπὸ Διονύσου ἐγνωρίσθη, οὐχὶ τοῦ ἐκ Σεμέλης (Sync. 179.26).

[90] Cf. οἱ δὲ τῶν ἐκ γῆς φυομένων τοὺς ἡμέρους δρεπόμενοι καρποὺς Δηὼ τὸν σῖτον, ὡς Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ Διόνυσον τὴν ἄμπελον, ὡς Θηβαῖοι προσηγόρευσαν (Clem. Alex. *Protr*. 2.26) — "Others, plucking the benignant fruits of earth-born plants, called grain Demeter, as the Athenians, and the vine Dionysus, as the Thebans."

how this took place: "Taking soil, kneading it with water of three sorts, forming the first [sort] fire-coloured with his blood, the second one, reddish, since he poured less blood in it, while the third, less than this one, and created white wine, and many other kinds were made from these" (G. M. 371).

Who is the ever-winning pancratiast (յաքնաւթիւկ) Trachonian Byrrus of Pentus,[91] his adversary Prothynius or Pronothius, and Tantalus who helped Byrrus to defeat him, frightening him with a shriek (G. M. 308-309)?

Sometimes the author himself is responsible for corrupted names or information, in some cases, later scribes. Grigor could retell or mention myths or literary episodes which today are not extant in any source. We dare to conjecture that some stories "in Greek style" are Grigor's original composition, or he has invented some details in existing stories.

[91] LANGLOIS (1869, p. 44) supposed that this may be "Pyrrhus du Pont?"

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